

# READING THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE

STUDIES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

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READING THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE  
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Alice Jorgensen



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The journey from conference to volume has been more prolonged and tortuous than any of us expected. I am extremely grateful to the contributors to this collection, whose patience and hard work have been exemplary. Shannon Lewis-Simpson proofread the essays, and Stephen Graham worked on the bibliography. For advice and support of all kinds, I would like to thank the series editors; the anonymous readers, whose detailed comments were invaluable; Simon Forde and a series of helpful editorial assistants at Brepols; Deborah A. Oosterhouse; Louise Harrison of the Centre for Medieval Studies, York, who handled financial matters for both the conference and the editing process; the staff of the library of Trinity College, Dublin; Matthew Townend, Mary Garrison, Susan Manly, Christine Rauer, Isabel Davis, Francis Leneghan, and Helen Conrad-O'Briain. None of this would have

happened without my husband, Andrew Jorgensen. My sons, Hugh and Francis, did less to expedite the work, but they make it all worthwhile.

All these people deserve credit for this collection. Its flaws are the responsibility of the editor.

Alice Jorgensen

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Æthelweard</i>	<i>Chronicon Æthelweardi: The Chronicle of Æthelweard</i> , ed. by Alistair Campbell (London, 1962)
<i>ANS</i>	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i>
<i>ASC</i>	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle
<i>ASCCE</i>	The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
<i>ASPR</i>	Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records
<i>Asser</i>	<i>Asser's Life of King Alfred; together with the Annals of St Neots erroneously ascribed to Asser</i> , ed. by William Henry Stevenson, new impression with an article by Dorothy Whitelock (Oxford, 1959)
Baker, <i>MS F</i>	<i>MS F</i> , ed. by Peter Baker, ASCCE, 8 (Cambridge, 2000)
<i>BAR</i>	British Archaeological Reports
Bately, <i>MS A</i>	<i>MS A</i> , ed. by Janet Bately, ASCCE, 3 (Cambridge, 1986)
Bately, <i>TTR</i>	Janet Bately, <i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Texts and Textual Relationships</i> (Reading, 1991)
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>British Numismatic Journal</i>

- Bosworth Toller J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1898)
- Bredehoft, *TH* Thomas A. Bredehoft, *Textual Histories: Readings in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Toronto, 2001)
- Clark, 'Narrative Mode' Cecily Clark, 'The Narrative Mode of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Before the Conquest', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 215–35
- Clark, *PC* *The Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. by Cecily Clark, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1970)
- Conner, *Abingdon Chronicle* *The Abingdon Chronicle A.D. 956–1066*, ed. by Patrick Conner, ASCCE, 10 (Cambridge, 1996)
- CS* *Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History*, ed. by Walter de Gray Birch, 4 vols (London, 1885–99)
- Cubbin, *MS D* *MS D*, ed. by G. P. Cubbin, ASCCE, 6 (Cambridge, 1996)
- DB* *Domesday Book*, ed. by John Morris, 35 vols (Chichester, 1975–92); cited in the form *DB*: [*County Name*], numerical reference
- DOE* *Dictionary of Old English in Electronic Form A–F*, ed. by Angus Cameron, Ashley Crandell Amos, and Antonette diPaolo Healey (Toronto, 2003), CD-ROM
- Dumville, 'Origins' David Dumville, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Origins of English Square Minusculer Script', in *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural, and Ecclesiastical Revival*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History, 3 (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 55–139

Dumville, 'Some Aspects'	David Dumville, 'Some Aspects of Annalistic Writing at Canterbury in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', <i>Peritia</i> , 2 (1983), 23–57
Earle and Plummer	<i>Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, with Supplementary Extracts from the Others: A Revised Text on the Basis of an Edition by John Earle</i> , ed. by Charles Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford, 1892–99; repr. with a chronological note by Dorothy Whitelock, 1952)
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile
EETS	Early English Text Society
OS	Original Series
SS	Supplementary Series
EHD	<i>English Historical Documents c. 500–1042</i> , ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd edn, <i>English Historical Documents</i> , 1 (London, 1979)
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
EME	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
HE	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica: Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People</i> , ed. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969)
Henry of Huntingdon	Henry, <i>Archdeacon of Huntingdon: 'Historia Anglorum', The History of the English People</i> , ed. and trans. by Diana Greenway (Oxford, 1996)
Higham and Hill	<i>Edward the Elder, 899–924</i> , ed. by N. J. Higham and David Hill (Cambridge, 2001)
Irvine, <i>MS E</i>	<i>MS E</i> , ed. by Susan Irvine, ASCCE, 7 (Cambridge, 2004)
John of Worcester	<i>The Chronicle of John of Worcester</i> , vol. II: <i>The Annals from 450 to 1066</i> , ed. by R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, trans. by Jennifer Bray and P. McGurk (Oxford, 1995) and <i>The Chronicle of John of Worcester</i> , vol. III: <i>The Annals from 1067 to 1140 with the</i>

	<i>Gloucester Interpolations and the Continuation to 1141</i> , ed. and trans. by P. McGurk (Oxford, 1998)
Ker	N. R. Ker, <i>Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon</i> (Oxford, 1957)
Keynes and Lapidge	<i>Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources</i> , trans. by Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge (Harmondsworth, 1983)
MED	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i> , ed. by Hans Kurath and others (Ann Arbor, 1952–2001)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
AA	Auctores antiquissimi
SRG	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum
MLR	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
N&Q	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
O'Brien O'Keeffe, MS C	MS C, ed. by Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, ASCCE, 5 (Cambridge, 2001)
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , ed. by John A. Simpson and Edmund Weiner, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1989)
PBA	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
RES	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
RS	Rolls Series
S + number	refers to the numbered list of charters in Peter Hayes Sawyer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography</i> , Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 8 (London, 1968), partially available online as <i>The Electronic Sawyer: An Online Version of the Revised Edition of Sawyer's 'Anglo-Saxon Charters', Section One [S 1–1602]</i> , prepared by S. E. Kelly and S. M. Miller (1999) < <a href="http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww/eSawyer.99/eSawyer2.html">http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww/eSawyer.99/eSawyer2.html</a> >
Saga-Book	<i>Saga-Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research</i>

- Sheppard, *FK* Alice Sheppard, *Families of the King: Writing Identity in the 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle'* (Toronto, 2004)
- Stenton, *ASE* F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1971)
- Swanton, *ASC* *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, trans. and ed. by Michael Swanton, rev. edn (London, 2000)
- Taylor, *MS B* *MS B*, ed. by Simon Taylor, ASCCE, 4 (Cambridge, 1983)
- TRHS* *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
- Whitelock, *ASC* *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, ed. and trans. by Dorothy Whitelock, with David C. Douglas and Susie L. Tucker (London, 1961)



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## INTRODUCTION: READING THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE

Alice Jorgensen

All who work on English history, literature, or language from the Anglo-Saxon period to the Angevin will find themselves sooner or later reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The political narrative and framework of dates provided in the seven substantial extant manuscripts form a historical backbone for the period; their importance is increased by the relative paucity of other, independent historical sources from eighth- to eleventh-century England.<sup>1</sup> The Chronicle manuscripts preserve some of the earliest and latest examples of Old English prose, most of it seemingly composed in the vernacular rather than translated from Latin.<sup>2</sup> They also contain a goodly portion of extant Old English verse;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See James Campbell, 'Some Twelfth-Century Views of the Anglo-Saxon Past', in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1986), pp. 209–28 (pp. 215–19) on the sparseness of Anglo-Saxon historiography after Bede.

<sup>2</sup> As Cyril Hart provocatively points out, we cannot completely discount the possibility that the original text of the Chronicle may have been in Latin: 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle at Ramsey', in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of her Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. by Jane Roberts and Janet L. Nelson with Malcolm Godden (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 65–88 (p. 76).

<sup>3</sup> The quantity of verse incorporated in the Chronicle versions is disputed. Thomas A. Bredehoft's contribution to this volume, '*Malcolm and Margaret: The Poem in Annal 1067D*', shows that the Chronicle includes more verse than previously supposed. See also Bredehoft, *TH*, pp. 72–99; Susanne Kries, 'English-Danish Rivalry and the Mutilation of Alfred in the Eleventh-Century Chronicle Poem *The Death of Alfred*', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 104 (2005), 31–53 (pp. 32–34); Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song: Transitional Literacy in Old English Verse*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 4 (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 108–09. The C-manuscript also contains the poems known as *Menologium* and *Maxims II*, making it, as Patrick Conner remarks, 'one of our major poetic manuscripts, parallel in quality and quantity of poetry

and they offer samples of the English language to various degrees datable and localizable, with the early Parker Chronicle (MS A: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173) and late Peterborough Chronicle (MS E: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 636) particularly interesting for the evidence they afford of early West Saxon and the transition to Middle English respectively.<sup>4</sup> However, despite the regular appearance of the 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard' annal (755ABCDE) in beginners' courses, reading the Chronicle raises difficult questions. What does this apparently guileless text (or texts) mean? Are we to read it as narrative? What are the units of meaning — single annals, groups of annals, manuscripts? Whose history is this, and does it serve, or do subsections serve, some overarching, possibly political purpose? Even before tackling these questions we encounter more fundamental, and highly complex, issues: the different dating methods, sources, and errors that govern the annal numbers in the different manuscripts, the stages and methods of compilation, the relationships between the extant versions, and the extent to which particular annals can be assigned to particular times and places of production.

Building on the monumental achievement of Charles Plummer at the end of the nineteenth century, the scholars of the last hundred years or so have done much to elucidate the sources, chronology, and text-history of the Chronicle, though there remains much that is obscure or uncertain.<sup>5</sup> Among more recent contributions, particular mention should be made here of the work of Janet Bately and David Dumville.<sup>6</sup> Over the past twenty-five years the Collaborative Edition of the

to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library 201 or Oxford, Bodleian Library Junius 121': 'Editing the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 103 (2004), 369–80 (p. 375).

<sup>4</sup> See the opening remarks of Sara Ponz-Sans, 'Norse-Derived Vocabulary in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', this volume, with references.

<sup>5</sup> Earle and Plummer.

<sup>6</sup> Janet Bately's important contributions include the following: 'The Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 60 BC to AD 890: Vocabulary as Evidence', *PBA*, 64 (1978), 93–129; 'World History in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Its Sources and its Separateness from the Old English Orosius', *ASE*, 8 (1979), 177–94; 'Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', in *Saints, Scholars and Heroes: Studies in Medieval Culture in Honour of Charles W. Jones*, ed. by Margot H. King and Wesley M. Stevens, 2 vols (Collegeville, MN, 1979), 1, 233–54; 'The Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Once More', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s., 16 (1985), 7–26; *TTR*; 'Manuscript Layout and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', in *Textual and Material Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Thomas Northcote Toller and the Toller Memorial Lectures*, ed. by Donald Scragg (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 1–21. Among David Dumville's are the following: 'Some Aspects'; 'The West Saxon

Chronicle, initiated under the joint editorship of Simon Keynes and David Dumville and published by Boydell and Brewer, has provided full texts of all the major vernacular manuscripts as well as of the related Latin text *The Annals of St Neots*.<sup>7</sup> The replacement of earlier editions, many of which were unsatisfactory or incomplete, with clearly presented and more-or-less uniform volumes and the accompanying thorough-going re-examination of the textual evidence are highly valuable advances in the study of the Chronicle.<sup>8</sup> If completed, the series will take the text-historical approach to its logical conclusion by offering editions of reconstructed earlier stages in the development of the Chronicle, including the so-called Abingdon Chronicle, the Northern Recension, and the Common Stock.<sup>9</sup> Such labours open the way for sophisticated and ambitious readings of the Chronicle as literary and historical text. Within the last decade the first two monographs on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, by Thomas A. Bredehoft and Alice Sheppard, have offered more sustained and comprehensive accounts than previously attempted, highlighting thematic continuities that run across text-historical boundaries.<sup>10</sup>

Genealogical Regnal List and the Chronology of Early Wessex', *Peritia*, 4 (1985), 21–66; 'The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List: Manuscripts and Texts', *Anglia*, 104 (1986), 1–32; 'Origins'; and for his work on the Collaborative Edition see below. Though her conclusions are superseded by Bately, *TTR*, see also Audrey Meaney, 'St Neots, Æthelweard, and the Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Survey,' in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose: Sixteen Original Contributions*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, 1986), pp. 193–243, for a valuable survey of earlier theories of the compilation of the Common Stock of the Chronicle.

<sup>7</sup> Bately, *MS A*; Taylor, *MS B*; O'Brien O'Keeffe, *MS C*; Cubbin, *MS D*; Irvine, *MS E*; Baker, *MS F*; *The Annals of St Neots with Vita Prima Sancti Neoti*, ed. by David Dumville and Michael Lapidge, ASCCE, 17 (Cambridge, 1985). The series also includes a manuscript facsimile: *Facsimile of MS F, the Domitian Bilingual*, ed. by David Dumville, ASCCE, 1 (Cambridge, 1995).

<sup>8</sup> The series has not escaped criticism. See for example E. G. Stanley's review of volumes 1, 6, and 10, *N&Q*, n.s., 44 (1997), 374–77; Cyril Hart, 'Some Recent Editions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles', *Medium Ævum*, 66 (1997), 293–301.

<sup>9</sup> So far the only one of these volumes to appear has been Conner, *Abingdon Chronicle*. For an outline of the intended shape of the series, see David N. Dumville, 'Edition and Re-edition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', *Medieval English Studies Newsletter*, 28 (1993), 4–6; repr. in *Old English Newsletter*, 27 (1994), 21–22. Dumville presents arguments for editing reconstructed texts in 'Editing Old English Texts for Historians and Other Troublemakers', in *The Editing of Old English: Papers from the 1990 Manchester Conference*, ed. by D. G. Scragg and Paul E. Szarmach (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 45–52 (pp. 47 and 50–51).

<sup>10</sup> Bredehoft, *TH*; Sheppard, *FK*. For a review of past work on the Chronicle and promising future directions, see Jacqueline Stodnick, 'Second-Rate Stories? Changing Approaches to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', *Literature Compass*, 3 (2006), 1253–65.

The present volume is the first interdisciplinary essay collection devoted to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. As a text characterized above all by its multiplicity — multiple authors, multiple provenances, multiple versions, multiple embedded genres — it is an ideal subject for a multi-author collection. Most of the essays were given as papers at the conference on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle held in York in July 2004. Along with further essays commissioned later, they exemplify the variety of approaches taken by current scholars in reading the Chronicle as historical and linguistic evidence and as *litterae*.<sup>11</sup> The volume groups essays that explicitly consider what the Chronicle offers to particular lines of research, including some less obvious fields such as Scottish history, with other essays that make new contributions to major topics in Chronicle studies, such as the association with Alfred and the distinctive character of the E-text. Together, all contribute to an inquiry into two major questions: what are we reading when we read the Chronicle and how are we reading it?

### *What Are We Reading?*

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is a label not for a single chronological series of annals but for a complex body of vernacular annalistic materials known to us from seven manuscripts (one now largely destroyed) and a single-leaf fragment, conventionally assigned the sigla A to H. Table 1 presents a summary of the dates and contents of these manuscripts.<sup>12</sup> Broadly speaking, all the manuscripts transmit a Common Stock of shared material to 890 but increasingly diverge thereafter. They fall into four groups. G is a copy of A made before A was altered and extended at Christ Church, Canterbury.<sup>13</sup> B and C are also very close, though Janet Bately has dismantled Taylor's argument that C is copied in part from B's exemplar and in part

<sup>11</sup> Reflecting the focus of the conference, the disciplines of palaeography and codicology and the study of the Chronicle manuscripts are omitted save where they illuminate these other areas.

<sup>12</sup> Good introductions to the Chronicle incorporating accounts of the manuscripts include the following: Michael Swanton, 'Introduction', in Swanton, *ASC*, pp. xi–xxxv; Dorothy Whitelock, 'Introduction', in Whitelock, *ASC*, pp. xi–xxiv (the bibliography is now out-of-date but remains useful, especially for studies of the chronology). Bredehoft, *TH*, gives a short clear summary of the manuscripts on pp. 4–6.

<sup>13</sup> For G, see *Die Version G der Angelsächsischen Chronik: Rekonstruktion und Edition*, ed. by Angelika Lutz (Munich, 1981).

from B itself.<sup>14</sup> D, E, and F all transmit the Northern Recension, but D is from the tenth century a conflation of  $\sqrt{E}$  and  $\sqrt{C}$  with distinctive elements of its own, E has a large body of unique material extending to 1154, and F is a bilingual Latin and English epitome based on  $\sqrt{E}$  but also drawing on other sources, including A.<sup>15</sup> Finally, the English-language annals of the single leaf H are completely independent of E, the only other Old English chronicle to extend that far.<sup>16</sup> There are in addition a number of closely related Latin texts. Æthelweard's *Chronicon* (written 975 x c. 998, probably around 983)<sup>17</sup> and *The Annals of St Neots* (1120 x 1140) have both been held to derive from early versions of the Chronicle lacking errors common to the extant vernacular manuscripts.<sup>18</sup> Bately and Dumville have shown that in both cases the evidence for this is thin, though Bately remarks that 'wherever [...] chronicle texts diverge, the *Annals of St Neots* generally agrees with whichever of them it is that preserves the reading of the original'.<sup>19</sup> Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, composed 893, incorporates annalistic sections based on a text of the Common Stock close to BC.<sup>20</sup> Along with minor Latin annals such as the *Ramsey Annals*, the annals of Oxford, St John's College, MS 17, and a short chronicle related to the Latin text of F in the *Liber Floridus* of Lambert of Saint-Omer, these Latin texts provide important additional evidence for the development of the

<sup>14</sup> Bately, *TTR*, pp. 2–25, and 'Manuscript Layout', pp. 3–4; Taylor, *MS B*, pp. xxxiv–l. See also Cyril Hart's argument, also demolished by Bately, that the compiler of C worked from A, B, and the Mercian Register: Cyril Hart, 'The B Text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', *Journal of Medieval History*, 8 (1982), 241–99; Bately, *TTR*, pp. 4–8.

<sup>15</sup> For the features of the Northern Recension, see Patrick Wormald, *How Do We Know So Much About Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst?*, Deerhurst Lecture 1991 (Deerhurst, 1993), p. 12; Irvine, *MS E*, pp. xxxvi–xxxviii and xxxix–xl; for a detailed list of shared readings in D and E showing clearly the northern interest and viewpoint, see Cubbin, *MS D*, pp. xv–liii.

<sup>16</sup> For text, see Julius Zupitza, 'Fragment einer englischen Chronik aus den Jahren 1113 und 1114', *Anglia*, 1 (1878), 195–97; for its independence of E, see Irvine, *MS E*, pp. lxxxiv–lxxxv.

<sup>17</sup> Æthelweard, pp. xii–xvi; Wojtek Jezierski, 'Æthelweardus Redivivus', *EME*, 13 (2005), 159–78 (p. 160 and references).

<sup>18</sup> See especially Meaney, 'St Neots, Æthelweard'; Eric E. Barker, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Used by Æthelweard', *Bulletin of Historical Research*, 40 (1967), 74–91.

<sup>19</sup> Bately, *TTR*, pp. 26–53 (specific reference to p. 41); *Annals of St Neots*, ed. by Dumville and Lapidge, pp. xxxi–xxxix. For argument against Bately's position on Æthelweard, see Audrey Meaney, 'Scyld Scefing and the Dating of *Beowulf* – Again', in *Textual and Material Culture in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Scragg, pp. 23–73 (especially pp. 54–59).

<sup>20</sup> Asser, pp. 4–9, 17–19, 22–54, and 68–72, Chapters 3–11, 18–21, 26–72, and 82–86; Keynes and Lapidge, pp. 55–56, 68–70, 73–74, 76–88, and 97–99; Bately, *TTR*, pp. 53–55 and 60–61.

**Table 1. The surviving manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.**

Information is from the introductions to the ASCCE volumes. In addition, specific reference is made to Parkes, 'Palaeography of the Parker Manuscript'; Dumville, 'Origins'; Baxter, 'MS C of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle'; and Wormald, *Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst*.

MS	Date written	Coverage	Provenance
A: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173 'Parker Chronicle' + Laws of Alfred; lists of popes, archbishops, and kings; Sedulius and other Latin materials	Hand 1, to annal 891a, s. ix/x (but Parkes dates s. ix <sup>ea</sup> ; Dumville s. x <sup>an</sup> ). Next section to 920 in several stints before c. 930. Annals 924–64 several hands s. x <sup>med</sup> . Annals 973–1001 mainly one hand s. xi <sup>n</sup> . Interpolated and extended at Christ Church s. xi <sup>ea</sup> –xii <sup>an</sup> .	West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List to Alfred 60 BC, 1–1001: Common Stock, Alfred's late Viking wars, wars of Edward the Elder, 10th c. annals mostly on royal doings with some Winchester material <i>Acta Lanfranci</i> (Latin annals for 1070–93)	Normally assigned to Winchester At Christ Church, Canterbury by 1100
B: London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A VI	One hand, s. x <sup>ea</sup> (including Regnal List) Latin materials on fol. 35 added s. xi/xii	60 BC and 1–977 AD: as C to 977; 653–946 most annal numbers missing West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List (now MS Cotton Tiberius A III, fol. 178) to Edward the Martyr Latin notes and list of popes (fol. 35)	Usually assigned to Abingdon on basis of material shared with C At Christ Church, Canterbury by 1100
C: London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B I 'Abingdon Chronicle' + OE <i>Oronius, Menologium, Maxims II</i>	Seven or eight hands of s. xi <sup>med</sup> Hand 1 writes <i>Menologium, Maxims II</i> , and annals to 490. Hand 2 changes aspect at 982 but continues to 1048. From 1045 annals written in sections of one to four years, probably as material became available.	60 BC, 1–1066: Common Stock; annals of Edward the Elder to 915 followed by Mercian Register 896–924, <i>Aethelredian Chronicle</i> ( <i>Chronicle of Aethelred and Cnut</i> ), anti-Godwine mid-11th c. annals associated by Baxter with circle of Leofric of Mercia. S. xi hand of 1066 entry finishes at Stamford Bridge; Hastings added s. xii (possibly replacing text already present in MS)	Long associated with Abingdon, but O'Brien O'Keeffe suggests Christ Church, Canterbury. Baxter suggests composition of annals may have taken place at a centre associated with Leofric, perhaps Evesham, but C itself may still be from Abingdon
D: London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B IV 'Worcester Chronicle'	Between ten and fifteen hands of s. xi <sup>2</sup> to s. xii <sup>1</sup> . Gap after the barren annal number for 261; resumes pathway through 693 in what Cubbin sees as	Bedan geographical preface 1–261, 693–1079: Northern Recension, conflates Mercian Register with annals of Edward	Usually associated with Worcester or York At Worcester c. 1565

MS	Date written	Coverage	Provenance
	a different hand. This hand continues to partway through 1016 where there is a section (1016–52) supplied later, Ker says in the 1070s or 1080s. D is a conflated text, 'created at a stroke in the mid-eleventh century', around 1060 (Cubbin, pp. lxxvii and lxxix). Hands in entries later than this still rarely start and stop with annal boundaries.	the Elder, Æthelredian Chronicle, 10th and 11th c. annals conflation of √C and √E with strong Scottish interest in 11th c.; Wormald argues a connection with Ealdred, bishop of York and Worcester to 1062, then of York alone until 1069. Additional annal dated 1080 deals with events of 1130	
E: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 636 'Peterborough Chronicle'	Initially written up in one stint after Peterborough fire of 1121. The First Continuation covering 1122–31 is in the same hand, but written in six separate stints. The section for 1132–54, the Second Continuation, was entered in one block in a different hand.	Bedan geographical preface 60 BC, 1–1154: Northern Recension, very sparse 893–956, Æthelredian Chronicle, 'pro-Godwine' mid-11th c. annals from St Augustine's, Canterbury, interpolations of Peterborough material into pre-1121 section, 1122–31 First Continuation, 1132–54 Second Continuation including account of the 'Anarchy' under Stephen	Peterborough
F: London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A VIII 'Domitian bilingual'	On evidence of interest in Investiture Controversy, written 1100x1109. Scribe active c. 1100, terminus ad quem provided by use of Latin text in Lambert of Saint-Omer's <i>Liber Floridus</i> of 1120.	Bedan geographical preface, supplemented from <i>Historia Brittonum</i> 60 BC, 1–1058 (defective); abbreviation of √E supplemented by charters, MS A, and other sources	Christ Church, Canterbury
G: London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho B XI + OE Bede	copy of A made s. xi <sup>m</sup>	as A without later material, with Genealogical Regnal List	Winchester (by association with A)
H: London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A IX, fol. 9	s. xi <sup>m</sup>	1113–14	??

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.<sup>21</sup> This is not to mention the major twelfth-century histories that reuse Chronicle material.<sup>22</sup> Comparison of all these different witnesses enables us to deduce the existence of numerous lost manuscripts. Bately's stemma in her magisterial survey postulates at least seven,<sup>23</sup> and she deals with only the earlier stages of compilation.

The variety among the witnesses raises the question of whether we are reading not an Anglo-Saxon Chronicle but Anglo-Saxon Chronicles. This was the conclusion of Plummer, who compared the situation to the separate continuations of the *Royal Frankish Annals* and argued that we have in manuscripts A to F four distinct chronicles (AG, BC, D, and EF).<sup>24</sup> Patrick Wormald stated his preference for the plural with characteristic flair: 'The temptation to speak of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the singular is like Original Sin: irresistible, redeemable, but for all that quite wrong.'<sup>25</sup> The individual manuscripts were assembled in different contexts and respond well to study for their own sake. This has recently been amply demonstrated, for example, by Malasree Home (one of the contributors to this volume) in her doctoral thesis on the Peterborough Chronicle. In it she insists on the value of contextualizing MS E not just as one more witness to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle but in relation to the specific concerns of the Peterborough community in the twelfth century and to the wider literary culture; she reads the Peterborough Chronicle in light not only of related historical texts, such as the proto-house history the *Relatio Heddae*, but also of homiletic materials and satirical poetry.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> On the *Ramsey Annals* and annals of St John's MS 17, see Hart, 'Chronicle at Ramsey', modifying his earlier comments in 'The Ramsey Computus', *EHR*, 85 (1970), 29–44; 'The B Text', pp. 274–78 and 295–96; 'Byrhtferth's Northumbrian Chronicle', *EHR*, 97 (1982), 558–82 (pp. 565 and 572 n. 1). On Lambert, see R. Derolez, 'An Epitome of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in Lambert of Saint-Omer's *Liber Floridus*', *English Studies*, 48 (1967), 226–31.

<sup>22</sup> See Susan Irvine, 'The Production of the Peterborough Chronicle', this volume, for the way John of Worcester's *Chronicon ex chronicis* and Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* illuminate the source relationships of the Peterborough Chronicle. Other major twelfth-century historians indebted to versions of the Chronicle are William of Malmesbury and Gaimar.

<sup>23</sup> Bately, *TTR*, p. 62. The count of seven treats Bately's V and W as one manuscript (W as V after annotation).

<sup>24</sup> Earle and Plummer, II, p. xxiii. Note that Plummer's sigla differed slightly from those employed in ASCCE and here: he used A as the sigil for MS Cotton Otho B XI and Â for Corpus Christi College, MS 173.

<sup>25</sup> Wormald, *Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst*, p. 10.

<sup>26</sup> Malasree Home, 'The Peterborough Chronicle and the Writing of History in the Twelfth Century' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2005), pp. i, 11–14, 51–54, and 57–60.

She is critical of the comparing, collating approach encouraged by parallel- or multitext editions such as those of Plummer, Thorpe, and Whitelock — reminding us of the close connection between how we read, what we think we are reading, and what edition or translation we use — and stresses that the different texts do not ‘supplement’ one another but have their own foci.<sup>27</sup> As Home also points out, the critical movement ‘back to the manuscripts’ highlights the degree to which textual meaning is generated through page layout, rubrication, scribal alterations, and codex organization, thus again directing attention to the individual manuscripts.<sup>28</sup> In C, for example, the Mercian Register (the body of short annals focused on the construction of boroughs by Æthelflæd of Mercia) is offset as a distinct entity by a block of blank annal numbers.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, in C the Chronicle is prefaced by the poems *Menologium* and *Maxims II*, and the whole collection seems to have been assembled around a copy of the Old English *Orosius*.<sup>30</sup>

The study of individual Chronicle manuscripts is a highly productive approach but it by no means exhausts the plurality of the Chronicle. Within each Chronicle text we find a striking variety of styles and even genres. The insertion of genealogies, poems, and, in the late manuscripts E and F, archival documents has a powerful effect on style and register; the poems especially (and above all *The Battle of*

<sup>27</sup> Home, ‘Peterborough Chronicle’, pp. 10–12.

<sup>28</sup> Home, ‘Peterborough Chronicle’, pp. 14–15; for the movement ‘back to the manuscripts’ and for the creation of meaning through manuscript features, see for example O’Brien O’Keeffe, *Visible Song*, and ‘Editing and the Material Text’, in *Editing of Old English*, ed. by Scragg and Szarmach, pp. 147–54; *New Approaches to Editing Old English Verse*, ed. by Sarah Larratt Keefer and Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe (Cambridge, 1998), especially Sarah Larratt Keefer, ‘Respect for the Book: A Reconsideration of “Form”, “Content” and “Context” in Two Vernacular Poems’, pp. 21–44.

<sup>29</sup> Paul E. Szarmach, ‘Æthelflæd of Mercia: *Mise en page*’, in *Words and Works: Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature in Honour of Fred C. Robinson*, ed. by Peter S. Baker and Nicholas Howe (Toronto, 1998), pp. 105–26 (p. 108). As Szarmach discusses, the Mercian Register is marked out in a similar but not absolutely identical way in B.

<sup>30</sup> Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe, ‘Reading the C-Text: The After-Lives of London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B.i’, in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine M. Treharne (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 137–60 (pp. 138–40); O’Brien O’Keeffe, *MS C*, pp. xxxix–xlii. For discussion of the links between the *Menologium*, *Maxims II*, and the Chronicle, see Fred C. Robinson, ‘Old English Literature in its Most Immediate Context’, in *Old English Literature in Context: Ten Essays*, ed. by John D. Niles (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 11–29, and Pauline Head, ‘Perpetual History in the Old English *Menologium*’, in *The Medieval Chronicle: Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle, Driebergen/Utrecht 13–16 July 1996*, ed. by Erik Kooper (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 155–62.

*Brunanburh*) have been edited and frequently studied in isolation.<sup>31</sup> The prose style of the annals also fluctuates markedly, though with a broad trend from laconic, paratactic entries in the earlier portions towards greater syntactic complexity, more varied vocabulary, and more devices such as anaphora, exclamation, and doublets in the later.<sup>32</sup> Such stylistic fluctuations help to mark out subsections within the Chronicle, which are also characterized to some extent by changing preoccupations. Thus the mid-tenth-century portion of ABC (with some variations between versions) is dominated by the doings of West Saxon kings, making extensive use of poems that celebrate their conquests and achievements, but with a movement from emphasis on the heroic in *Brunanburh* to the religious aspects of royal leadership in *The Coronation of Edgar* and *The Death of Edgar*.<sup>33</sup> By the mid-eleventh-century annals, which are mostly quite lengthy prose entries, C looks more like a factional chronicle hostile to Earl Godwine and favourable to Leofric of Mercia.<sup>34</sup> Coupled

<sup>31</sup> See *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ed. by Elliot Van Kirk Dobbie, ASPR, 6 (New York, 1942). None of the Chronicle poems are preserved outside the Chronicle manuscripts, but *The Battle of Brunanburh* (937ABCD), *The Capture of the Five Boroughs* (942ABCD), *The Coronation of Edgar* (973A, 974BC), and the first twelve lines of *The Death of Edgar* (975A, 976BC) may have been composed in the first place as occasional poems: Matthew Townend, 'Pre-Cnut Praise-Poetry in Viking-Age England', *RES*, 51 (2000), 349–70 (pp. 351–53); also note the relationship between *Brunanburh* and the Latin praise poems for Æthelstan discussed by Michael Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems for the Reign of Athelstan', *ASE*, 9 (1981), 61–98. For readings that stress *Brunanburh*'s function and fittingness within the Chronicle, see for example Bredehoft, *TH*, pp. 72–73 and 99–106; Janet Thormann, 'The Battle of Brunanburh and the Matter of History', *Mediaevalia*, 17 (1994 for 1991), 5–15; Janet Thormann, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Poems and the Making of the English Nation', in *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of Social Identity*, ed. by Allen J. Frantzen and John D. Niles (Gainesville, 1997), pp. 60–85.

<sup>32</sup> See the various stylistic studies by Cecily Clark: 'Narrative Mode'; 'Early Middle English Prose: Three Essays in Stylistics', *Essays in Criticism*, 18 (1968), 361–82; *PC*, pp. lxxiv–lxxxvii. See also Malasree Home, 'Double-Edged Déjà Vu: The Complexity of the Peterborough Chronicle', this volume.

<sup>33</sup> On the changing themes of the poems, see Jayne Carroll, 'Engla waldend, rex admirabilis: Poetic Representations of King Edgar', *RES*, 58 (2007), 113–32. Palaeographical evidence in A indicates that these tenth-century annals fall into several stages: the annals for 924–46 were probably written 947x955/56; those for 973–1001 were written c. 1000, though the poems at 973 and 975 (the only annals of this part of A to be shared with other versions) are in a corrupt text inferior to, for instance, B; the intervening annals seem to have been copied mostly in the 960s: Dumville, 'Origins', pp. 58–62; see also Bately, *MS A*, pp. xxxiv–xxxviii.

<sup>34</sup> Stephen Baxter, 'MSC of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Politics of Eleventh-Century England', *EHR*, 122 (2007), 1189–1227. An earlier version of this article was read at the 2004 York conference on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle ('MSC and the Politics of Mid-Eleventh-Century England').

to such divisions of style and content is the evidence of language, which points to numerous breaks of date and authorship, and that of text-history in the narrow sense: comparison of similarities and differences between the extant texts enables the identification of underlying prior stages and part-chronicles. These part-chronicles include large text-portions such as the Common Stock of ABC, modified in the Northern Recension of DE, and the Æthelredian Chronicle (or Chronicle of Æthelred and Cnut) in CDE, but text-historical work also points to extremely complex layerings of material, for instance in the early and mid-eleventh-century annals of CDE which show both considerable textual interrelationship and increasing divergence of political slant.<sup>35</sup> Some comments on a couple of the Chronicle's subdivisions will illustrate how our sense of the contexts of the Chronicle, and thus also of its meanings and the possible agendas that inform it, is complicated when we move beyond the level of whole texts in individual manuscripts.

The Common Stock, sometimes called the 'first compilation', '890 Chronicle', or 'Alfredian Chronicle' ('Common Stock' can refer more broadly to the common core of material shared by all extant versions), extends to 890 or 892 and was at least partly available to Asser in 893.<sup>36</sup> The Common Stock more than any other section of the Chronicle has been read as propaganda designed for a particular political context, specifically as a late ninth-century narrative of the achievements of Alfred and his family.<sup>37</sup> However, its character as a compilation as well as the

<sup>35</sup> See Dumville, 'Some Aspects', pp. 24–38, including remarks on the 'pro-Godwine' stance of E (pp. 24–25). The last annal E and C share is 1044, but Baxter traces the anti-Godwine colouring of C before this. See Alice Jorgensen, 'Rewriting the Æthelredian Chronicle: Narrative Style and Identity in Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS F', this volume, note 2, for references on the precise extent of this textual block.

<sup>36</sup> E lacks the annal for 891 but shares those for 890 and 892 with ABCD: if the first compilation ended at 890, the compiler of D could have switched at that point from √DE to √C and the annal for 892 could have been added to √E at some other stage (perhaps even by the F-scribe, who intervened in √E and had access to A: Baker, *MS F*, pp. xxx–xxxviii). However, if the first compilation ended at 892, annal 891 could easily have been omitted from √E. On the evidence of vocabulary Bately suggests that 891A is by more than one author and the annal for 892 is by a different author from those preceding and succeeding it: 'Compilation of the Chronicle Once More', pp. 11 and 16–17. On the other hand, 892 makes more sense as an endpoint than either 891 or 890 because it sees the return of the Vikings to England; Dumville, 'Origins', p. 89, argues for 892. Alfred Smyth, who rejects the evidence of Asser, argues on thematic grounds for 896: 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Questioning Old English History and Historians', *Historian*, 49 (1996), 2–7 (pp. 5–7); *King Alfred the Great* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 498–508.

<sup>37</sup> See especially R. H. C. Davis, 'Alfred the Great: Propaganda and Truth', *History*, 56 (1971), 169–82; J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Franks and the English in the Ninth Century: Some

most sustainedly laconic and disjointed portion of the Chronicle fuels continued debate over its perspective, re-examined in this volume.<sup>38</sup> The Common Stock reuses material from diverse earlier contexts: the Latin chronicles of Eusebius, Isidore, and Bede, other Latin sources such as the New Testament, regnal and episcopallists, hypothetical earlier sets of Anglo-Saxon annals in either Latin or the vernacular, and no doubt also the recollections and orally transmitted lore of living authorities.<sup>39</sup> It starts with Julius Caesar's conquest of Britain, has entries concerning Hengist and Horsa, and later gives notices of events in all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. However, it does exhibit a strong West Saxon slant, and some entries can plausibly be linked to Alfred's political agenda, for example the story of Alfred's royal anointing by the Pope (annal 853A, 854C, also in B without annal number)<sup>40</sup>

Common Historical Interests', in *Early Medieval History* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 201–16; P. H. Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings* (London, 1962), p. 20. Simon Keynes nuances the 'propaganda' view of the Common Stock: 'A Tale of Two Kings: Alfred the Great and Æthelred the Unready', *TRHS*, 5th series, 36 (1986), 195–217; Jennifer Neville critiques readings of MS A as propaganda: 'Making their Own Sweet Time: The Scribes of *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A*', in *The Medieval Chronicle II: Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle, Driebergen/Utrecht 16–21 July 1999*, ed. by Erik Kooper (Amsterdam, 2002), pp. 166–77 (see especially p. 173).

<sup>38</sup> Barbara Yorke, 'The Representation of Early West Saxon History in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle'; Anton Scharer, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Continental Annal-Writing'; see also Ryan Lavelle, 'Geographies of Power in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: The Royal Estates of Anglo-Saxon Wessex', and Alex Woolf, 'Reporting Scotland in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle'.

<sup>39</sup> Audrey Meaney, 'The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* c. 892: Materials and Transmission', *Old English Newsletter*, 18 (1985), 26–35, provides a handy summary and table drawing on her own articles 'St Neots, Æthelweard', and 'D: An Undervalued Manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*', *Parergon*, n.s., 1 (1983), 13–38; see also Bately, 'World History', p. 188.

<sup>40</sup> The story also occurs in Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, chapter 8. For discussion of what exactly happened on this occasion and whether the story represents a piece of Alfredian propaganda, a simple reinterpretation, or alternatively a mistake that points away from the close involvement of Alfred's circle in the Chronicle, see Janet L. Nelson, 'The Problem of King Alfred's Royal Anointing', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 18 (1967), 145–63; Janet L. Nelson, 'The Franks and the English in the Ninth Century Reconsidered', in *The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach and Joel T. Rosenthal (Kalamazoo, 1997), pp. 141–58, repr. in Nelson, *Rulers and Ruling Families in Early Medieval Europe*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS657 (Aldershot, 1999), item VI (pp. 143–46); Keynes and Lapidge, p. 232, n. 19; Simon Keynes, 'Anglo-Saxon Entries in the "Liber Vitae" of Brescia', in *Alfred the Wise*, ed. by Roberts and Nelson with Godden, pp. 99–119 (pp. 112–14); Bately, 'Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', p. 128, n. 1; Smyth, *King Alfred the Great*, pp. 12–17.

and the numerous, predominantly West Saxon royal genealogies.<sup>41</sup> The Alfredian connections seem especially emphatic in MS A, a manuscript usually associated with Winchester, where the Chronicle is prefaced with a version of the West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List extending to Alfred and where it was bound with a mid-tenth-century copy of Alfred's *Domboc*.<sup>42</sup> Malcolm Parkes argued from the palaeographical evidence that A is a Winchester manuscript, that it was written in the late ninth century very soon after the original compilation, and that the scribal break part way through 891A marks the end of the exemplar and thus of the original Common Stock. In Parkes's view, MS A is evidence for both the endpoint and the provenance of the Common Stock, and he suggests it may be connected to Alfred's helper Grimbold of St Bertin, who was given a *monasteriolum* in Winchester.<sup>43</sup> However, such local interest as is shown in the Common Stock seems to centre on the south-west rather than Winchester; a number of important events in Alfred's career are ignored (for example, the submission of the Welsh kings); nor do the language or the sources of the Chronicle show a close connection with other Alfredian texts.<sup>44</sup> David Dumville has vigorously questioned Parkes's dating of the first hand of A and the usefulness of A as evidence for the original shape of the Common Stock, as well as showing that the association of A with Winchester can be doubted.<sup>45</sup> None of these are insuperable problems for connecting the Common

<sup>41</sup> The ten West Saxon and nine other genealogies are listed by Bredehoft, *TH*, p. 174, n. 1, and discussed pp. 14–38. See also the fundamental discussion by Kenneth Sisam, 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies', *PBA*, 39 (1953), 287–348.

<sup>42</sup> For the makeup of A, see Bately, *MS A*, pp. xvi–xx.

<sup>43</sup> Malcolm Parkes, 'The Palaeography of the Parker Manuscript of the Chronicle, Laws and Sedulius, and Historiography in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries', *ASE*, 5 (1976), 149–71.

<sup>44</sup> Bately, 'Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', pp. 116–24 (on language); Bately, 'World History' (on sources); Dumville, 'Origins', pp. 71–72; *EHD*, pp. 123–24; F. M. Stenton, 'The South-Western Element in the Old English Chronicle', in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to T. F. Tout*, ed. by A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke (Manchester, 1925), pp. 15–24; repr. in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England, Being the Collected Papers of Frank Merry Stenton*, ed. by Doris Mary Stenton (Oxford, 1970), pp. 106–15. The submission of the Welsh kings to Alfred is described in *Asser*, Chapter 80.

<sup>45</sup> See Dumville, 'Origins', pp. 68–71, 72–88, and 90–96. Bately, *MS A*, is more cautious: she follows Ker in dating Hand 1 to s. ix/x (pp. xxiv–xxv) and remarks 'what little evidence there is appears to support but not confirm the theory of a Winchester provenance for hands 1 and 2 (a–f)' (p. xxxiii). The question of the textual closeness of A to the original compilation is complex. Bately, *TTR*, sees A as deriving from a text which may have been annotated to form the archetype of BC and also the annalistic sections of *Asser* (pp. 61–62); she also shows how the chronological

Stock with Alfred: as Barbara Yorke points out, Alfred's family had interests in the south-west as well as in Winchester,<sup>46</sup> and the problem of language and sources need only highlight the fact that his circle was spread out between different religious houses. Nonetheless, the debates over the place of compilation of the Common Stock underline the extent to which the search for the original contexts of production of the Chronicle must distinguish the evidence of the text (language, contents, and relationships between versions) from the evidence of the manuscript.

In ABCD the Common Stock annals are followed by continuations dealing with the late Viking wars of Alfred and the campaigns of Edward the Elder (annals 915 to 920 appear only in A). The Edwardian annals are among the most thematically concentrated of Chronicle sections and seem blatantly designed to present the king in question as a triumphant conqueror and worthy leader; much more than the Common Stock they invite the controversial label 'propaganda'. In BC, however, they are juxtaposed and in D blended with the Mercian Register (the distinctive presentation of the Mercian Register in B and C has been mentioned above). ABCD thus allow us to reconstruct two probable contexts of chronicling other than those of the manuscripts themselves: Edward's court or a house closely connected to Edward in the case of the Edwardian annals,<sup>47</sup> but a Mercian centre determined to celebrate the achievements of Mercian rulers against the Danes in the case of the Mercian Register. In the manuscripts, the meanings of these annals change. Michael Davidson suggests that the Edwardian annals may have originally been aimed at a Mercian audience and designed to encourage acceptance of West Saxon rule following the removal of Æthelflæd's daughter Ælfwyn.<sup>48</sup> In A, however, a West Saxon manuscript with a strong focus on Alfred and his family, the Edwardian annals have the air of a celebration of the expansion of West Saxon and Cerdicing hegemony. By contrast, in B and C the Mercian and Edwardian annals stand as sharply different perspectives on the same period, underlining the fact that

dislocation in 754 to 851 in A and other texts is plausibly the product of the method of compilation and not of error introduced in the chain of copying (pp. 32–35). Both these arguments move A closer to the common archetype. Bately, *MS A*, shows that A does contain corrupt readings as against other versions (pp. lxxv–lxxvi), but that 'it sometimes has readings which reflect the archetype more faithfully than they do' (p. lxxii).

<sup>46</sup> Yorke, 'Representation of Early West Saxon History'.

<sup>47</sup> Dumville, 'Origins', pp. 69–70, points out the lack of signs of localization in annals \*893–\*920A and suggests they could have been kept up by court chaplains.

<sup>48</sup> Michael R. Davidson, 'The (Non)submission of the Northern Kings in 920', in Higham and Hill, pp. 200–11 (pp. 204–05).

West Saxon expansion was at the expense of formerly separate Anglo-Saxon kingdoms as well as of recent Danish invaders.<sup>49</sup> In D, where the Mercian Register is not inserted as a block but, with some omissions, integrated into the Edwardian record, the compiler's first impulse is no doubt to tidy up the chronology. As Szarmach observes, Æthelflæd's role is diminished in this version and becomes subsidiary to the story of the House of Wessex (she was, of course, herself Alfred's daughter).<sup>50</sup> An interest in the House of Wessex as represented by its female as well as its male members is characteristic of D as a whole and makes sense in its likely context of compilation: Wormald links the D-text to Bishop Ealdred of Worcester and York, suggesting Ealdred's contacts with the family of Edward the Exile motivate D's post-Conquest entries on Edgar Ætheling and Margaret of Scotland.<sup>51</sup> But D is also a manuscript of the Northern Recension. Though the Northern Recension adds much Northumbrian material and deletes some West Saxon material, for example royal genealogies, the effect is to produce a broader Anglo-Saxon history rather than a Northumbrian one.<sup>52</sup> D's treatment of the Mercian Register thus continues this breadth of view, which is not shared in the early tenth-century portions of E or F. The plurality of the Chronicle is not simply the plurality of the different manuscripts or even the plurality of the original circumstances of writing, but a layering and multiplication of meanings as annals are produced and then repeatedly reused in new contexts.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>49</sup> But see Scott Thompson Smith, 'Marking Boundaries: Charters and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', this volume, on the way in which the Mercian Register like the main Chronicle engages in 'the writing of territorial bounds as a means for articulating and maintaining the legitimate possession of land' (p. 168).

<sup>50</sup> Szarmach, 'Æthelflæd of Mercia', pp. 119–20.

<sup>51</sup> Wormald, *Anglo-Saxon Deorhust*, pp. 14–16. On the treatment of royal women in D, see Pauline Stafford, 'Chronicle D, 1067, and Women: Gendering Conquest in Eleventh-Century England', in *Anglo-Saxons: Studies Presented to Cyril Roy Hart*, ed. by Simon Keynes and Alfred P. Smyth (Dublin, 2006), pp. 208–23.

<sup>52</sup> This is not quite the same point as Bredehoft's intriguing observation that the Northern Recension 'does not attempt to replace the Common Stock's dynastic focus with a focus on a competing northern dynasty; rather, it replaces dynastic politics with national politics': *TH*, p. 71.

<sup>53</sup> Relevant here are Colin Chase's remarks on the need not to subordinate later versions of material to the recovery of ultimate sources: 'Source Study as a Trick with Mirrors: Annihilation of Meaning in the Old English "Mary of Egypt"', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach with Virginia Darrow Oggins, *Studies in Medieval Culture*, 20 (Kalamazoo, 1986), pp. 23–33. Chase advocates an approach in which texts 'are not seen so much to influence or derive from one another as to participate in a common cultural dialogue' (p. 31).

In reading the Chronicle we are reading the products of annal writing at many different places and times, ranging from the south-west in the ninth century to the fenlands in the twelfth, but we are also reading the results of repeated gathering of sources, compilation, editing, and recopying. On the one hand, it is necessary through comparison forensically to distinguish the different layers and elements of the text, particularly if one wishes to find out how close particular annals are in time to the events they report and to judge what factors determined how those events were recorded. On the other hand, the Chronicle produces meanings that shift and change as annals are added, edited, and combined in different configurations.

Text-historical, stylistic, linguistic, and thematic investigations serve to break the Chronicle down into a multitude of constituent parts, but they also show us how compilers repeatedly built those parts into larger wholes. Formally, the Chronicle offers an image of the fullness and continuity of time. The practice of listing 'blank' annal numbers as well as those with entries means that time appears as an unbroken series. In a discussion of how the Chronicle, specifically the Common Stock in manuscript A, uses manuscript space to express time, Peter Clemoes suggested that the genealogies provide a model for how the succession of annal numbers asserts continuity.<sup>54</sup> Sarah Foot has argued more recently that texts such as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, with dating *anno domini*, trace the years continuously back to the Incarnation and thus fit past events into 'the divinely ordained progression of historical time' and 'God's plan for redeemed humanity'.<sup>55</sup> Within this representation of the totality of incarnational time, the annalistic form is in

<sup>54</sup> Peter Clemoes, 'Language in Context: *Her* in the 890 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s., 15 (1985), 27–36 (p. 31). Clemoes's interest in the issue cannot be credited to post-structuralism. Gabrielle Spiegel comments on the use of genealogy in thirteenth-century French chronicles that 'genealogy functioned to secularize time by grounding it in biology [...] the *series temporum* which it was the duty of every chronicler to record becomes an interconnected succession of past moments in which time, because human, is historicized': 'Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historiography', in *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore, 1997), pp. 99–110 (pp. 107–08).

<sup>55</sup> Sarah Foot, 'Finding the Meaning of Form: Narrative in Annals and Chronicles', in *Writing Medieval History*, ed. by Nancy Partner (London, 2005), pp. 88–108 (p. 96). On 'genealogical' readings of history in the first millenium and the idea of the succession of peoples within God's plan, see Richard J. Schrader, *Old English Poetry and the Genealogy of Events* (East Lansing, 1993), pp. 6–19; also Hans-Werner Goetz, 'The Concept of Time', in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. by Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick J. Geary (Washington, DC, 2002), pp. 139–65. Goetz remarks very interestingly on the way the medieval emphasis on the 'genetic coherence' of the past served a typological approach in which recent events could be mapped onto the distant past (pp. 155–56 and 162–65).

theory limitlessly receptive to additions; it can be expanded both by extending the list of years and by inserting new information into earlier years.<sup>56</sup> According to Jennifer Neville, insofar as a chronicle narrative has an overall direction it is conferred by the latest entries: the story of the past is always a story of what led up to the present, and new conclusions can always be added.<sup>57</sup> The annalistic form is both cumulative and accumulative. It is worth noting that, as part of the process of accumulation, the compilers seem on various occasions to have compared different Chronicle texts. This is especially true of the burst of largely editorial work on the Chronicle that took place at Christ Church, Canterbury, at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries (the making of F, the annotation of A, modifications to  $\sqrt{E}$ , and the marking up of B), and of the compilation of D. It applies also, for example, to 710A, apparently inserted when the mid-tenth-century compiler compared A's earlier annals with the exemplar he was using for 924–46.<sup>58</sup> Medieval users of the Chronicle as well as modern scholars were prepared to treat the Chronicle texts as part of a single body of material and to collate and combine them.<sup>59</sup>

### *How Are We Reading?*

It will be clear from the foregoing discussion that it is hard to separate the question of what we are reading when we read the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from the question of how we read it. So far, I have stressed how the Chronicle breaks down into multiple chronicles and subchronicles. Historically, these materials were produced, used, and had meaning both as a whole and at lower levels of organization, and to recover their historical meanings we need to read in ways both comparative and

<sup>56</sup> See David Dumville, 'What Is a Chronicle?', in *The Medieval Chronicle II*, ed. by Kooper, pp. 1–27 (p. 18); I follow Dumville in making no hard distinction between chronicles and annals (see pp. 1–2). See also Foot, 'Finding the Meaning of Form', pp. 96–97. As an aside, it is noteworthy that the space-saving device of writing blank annal numbers two columns to the page, employed in the early folia of both A and E, leaves very little room for later insertion of annals for these years. The original scribes seem to have assumed that new information would be limited or would prompt the making of a new copy. The 'wasteful' scribes of D, however, left full blank lines beside each barren annal number. For description, see Bately, 'Manuscript Layout', pp. 4, 8, and 11.

<sup>57</sup> Neville, 'Making their Own Sweet Time', pp. 174–75.

<sup>58</sup> Dumville, 'Some Aspects'; Dumville, 'Origins', p. 66.

<sup>59</sup> These points about comparison of versions are made by Bredehoft, *TH*, pp. 6–7 and p. 172 n. 11: he argues that 'the *Chronicle* was clearly understood to be a cultural document quite literally larger than any one of its manuscripts' (p. 7).

linear, both holistic and atomistic. We need, in fact, to read them many times, which is another good reason for collaborative work on the Chronicle. Both the changing ways in which medieval readers themselves used the Chronicle texts and the varying approaches of modern scholars can suggest multiple answers to the question ‘what sort of text is this?’.

A problem that confronts the modern reader, especially with regard to the early portions of the Chronicle, is the terse, disjointed, and allusive quality of the record. What seems to us to be important information is often frustratingly withheld. For example, encountering annal 603ABC, ‘Her was gefeoht æt Egesanstan’, we may well ask *who* fought, and who won.<sup>60</sup> Elizabeth Tyler and Ross Balzaretti comment as follows on the gaps and open-endedness that, they point out, are typical of medieval historiography:

While the texts they set down may seem to us to lack narrative closure and meaning, this may well be because we ourselves have an imperfect understanding of the social context in which the texts were produced and meant to function. From this perspective, it is argued here, medieval texts, the products of a world in which orality remained primary, are completed by a web of social and textual relations which call into question modern expectations that coherence relies on a single author’s vision, or that closure must be woven into the text rather than, for example, supplied by a shared understanding of the passage of time within salvation history, or by the social ritual in which the text played a part, or by the place of a poem within poetic tradition.<sup>61</sup>

The purpose that completed the Chronicle’s brief entries, when they were first written, is likely to have been not so much a desire to narrate past events in a permanently comprehensible form as a need to keep track of chronology — as Plummer put it, ‘to *characterise* the receding series of years, each by a mark and sign of its own’.<sup>62</sup> Such characterization would aid in the calculation of liturgical dates, above all Easter. It has long been argued that the Carolingian and Insular annals have a close relationship to annotations made in the margins of Easter tables, and it is probable that at least some Chronicle entries derive from such annotations,

<sup>60</sup> ‘In this year there was a battle at *Egesanstan*.’ In E the form of the name is given as *Dægsanstan*, which accords with Bede (*HE*, I, 34) and may refer to Dawston in Liddlesdale; E also explains that this was a battle between the Picts and Scots on the one hand and Æthelfrith of Northumbria on the other. Bede makes it clear Æthelfrith won. See Swanton, *ASC*, pp. 20–21 and p. 21 n. 9.

<sup>61</sup> Elizabeth M. Tyler and Ross Balzaretti, ‘Introduction’, in *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West*, ed. by Elizabeth M. Tyler and Ross Balzaretti, Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 16 (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 1–10 (p. 2).

<sup>62</sup> Earle and Plummer, II, p. xix.

and preserve their brevity.<sup>63</sup> At the time of compilation of the Common Stock, another purpose, and another set of readers, may have made simplicity a priority over historical detail: Nicholas Brooks has observed that the Chronicle was ideally suited to be initial reading matter for those learning to read English in the court school.<sup>64</sup> Though the Chronicle is perhaps not the sort of text one might expect had the sole purpose been to provide basic reading matter in English, Alfred's educational scheme would have necessitated some counterpart of elementary Latin materials such as the *Dicts of Cato*.<sup>65</sup>

Later readers, however, did approach the early parts of the Chronicle in search of historical information, and they sometimes filled its gaps where they could. In A, the original short entry for 603 was erased and a late eleventh- or early twelfth-century hand — the Canterbury scribe who wrote the F-text, in fact — substituted the opening of the Northern Recension's fuller account, which gives the names of the combatants and a slightly enigmatic notice of the result.<sup>66</sup> Modern scholarly readers, too, legitimately attempt to fill the Chronicle's gaps. They not only seek to reconstruct the social and the textual relations within which the Chronicle operated in the Middle Ages, but they also enmesh the Chronicle in their own topics of inquiry; the Chronicle signifies within the terms of scholarly discourses about, for example, language change, national identity, or the expression of royal power. Thus in the present collection papers that examine the usefulness of the Chronicle versions as evidence are offered alongside those that focus more on the Chronicle for its own sake.

<sup>63</sup> See Jacqueline Stodnick, 'Sentence to Story: Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as Formulary', this volume, pp. 92–93 and notes 4–6 for fuller comments on the relationship between chronicles and Easter Tables and recent scholarship on the question; in addition to the works cited there, see also Beryl Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages* (London, 1974), pp. 56–58.

<sup>64</sup> Nicholas Brooks, 'English Identity from Bede to the Millenium', *Haskins Society Journal*, 14 (2005 for 2003), 33–51 (p. 48).

<sup>65</sup> The *Dicts* were in fact translated into OE and survive in three post-Conquest manuscripts. Edition: R. S. Cox, 'The Old English Dicts of Cato', *Anglia*, 90 (1972), 1–42. Cox is cautious on dating, but the translation does seem to be post-Alfredian: 'Perhaps the best one can say is that the composition of the Dicts was begun between the mid-tenth [*sic*] and the mid-eleventh [centuries]' (p. 34).

<sup>66</sup> Bately, *MS A*, pp. xl and 26. The F-scribe had access to a copy antecedent to E (Baker, *MS F*, pp. xxix–xxxviii). In F itself, however, which is an epitome, he left the year 603 blank.

The kinds of questions that we bring to the Chronicle, the filters through which we view it and focus on particular aspects of it, can be grouped under three headings: the Chronicle as literature, the Chronicle as history, and the language of the Chronicle. The papers in the collection are ordered according to these broad approaches, though there is considerable overlap between sections.

Under 'the Chronicle as literature' fall a range of questions concerning the characteristics of the Chronicle as written materials, as *litterae*. Fundamentally, there is the question of the production of the Chronicle: what can we say about the processes of compilation and composition, the sources and antecedent texts, and the authors, editors, and scribes who made the different versions what they are? Extending this question into more obviously 'literary' territory, what kind of text is produced by these processes, and how does that text work — what are its stylistic, formal, and generic qualities, and how does it make meaning? Is it disjointed or unified, narrative or non-narrative, transparently factual or subtly persuasive? The essays in this section illustrate how the dry and exacting inquiries of text-history can inform and be informed by 'softer' concerns such as the Chronicle's incorporation of poetry, its rhetorical strategies, and its development (or not) of overarching themes.

The opening two essays offer important new arguments about the production of the later Chronicle versions, while shedding light on the Chronicle's qualities as a collage of genres and sources. Thomas Bredehoft's essay begins as an investigation into the generic complexity of the Chronicle, specifically its incorporation of poetry, but goes on to illustrate how, in his own words, 'the process of "reading" the *Chronicle* is [...] always the process of reading the textual history of the *Chronicle*'.<sup>67</sup> Drawing on his research into Old English metre, Bredehoft identifies a thirty-five-line poem in annal 1067D, the annal on the marriage of Margaret to Malcolm of Scotland, where previously had been seen a verse passage of only five lines. Bredehoft traces verbal parallels both with other poems of the D-text and with works of Ælfric, illuminating thematic links both across Chronicle sections and intertextually. More momentously for Chronicle studies, the identification of the poem now titled *Malcolm and Margaret* has implications for the compilation of D and the relationship of D and E. If *Malcolm and Margaret* is a poem there is no longer any need to hypothesize a lost *Life* of Margaret as its source. It is normally held that D here draws on  $\sqrt{E}$  but that 1067D includes an interpolation from the hypothetical *Life*. 1067E, however, though without most of D's material, does seem to show elements that would fall within the bounds of the *Malcolm and*

<sup>67</sup> Bredehoft, *TH*, p. 147, quoted in Bredehoft, '*Malcolm and Margaret*', this volume, p. 43.

*Margaret* poem. Bredehoft therefore suggests that at this point it is not D that derives from  $\sqrt{E}$  but E that goes back to a D-like text.

Susan Irvine's essay focuses on the First Continuation of the Peterborough Chronicle, using palaeographical evidence coupled to detailed comparison with related Latin texts to address the question of how this portion of the E-text was produced. Although Cecily Clark had noted a stylistic transition from 'terse' to 'full and lively' annals that 'read like the work of one man' at 1122, Irvine's analysis indicates that the annals from 1122 are not newly composed in their one- to three-year chunks by the Peterborough annalist but, like the pre-1122 portion, created through conflation of a general chronicle received from elsewhere and material specific to Peterborough.

Continuing the focus on the Peterborough Chronicle and on questions of textual production, Malasree Home's paper is also the first of three that are all in different ways concerned with issues of style, cohesion, and literary effect. Home examines the way revisions of the pre-1122 text by the Peterborough compiler both create stylistic and formal continuity with the First Continuation and, ironically, emphasize chronological separation between the text portions: the exclamations that are inserted into eleventh-century annals as part of the Peterborough Interpolations look like the immediate reactions of a contemporary, and thus stress the difference between the eleventh-century annalist's closeness and the twelfth-century annalist's distance from those events. Home's remarks point to the extent to which our sense of textual unity is affected by the way we construct an author function, a centre of consciousness through which to organize our understanding of the text.<sup>68</sup> Home goes on to argue that, given the continuity of hand as well as stylistic mannerisms from the pre-1122 text through the First Continuation, despite the copying of the First Continuation in six stints, the scribe and the compiler of these portions are likely to have been the same person.

The papers in this section reflect very clearly the tension both in scholarly approaches to the Chronicle and in the structure and history of the text itself between breaking down into smaller units and building up into larger arcs of meaning. Jacqueline Stodnick confronts head-on Hayden White's position that annals, lacking closure, do not develop narrative meaning, and examines how connections are created within and also across text-historical boundaries. She engages

<sup>68</sup> Much has been written on authors and author functions: a good recent discussion of author functions, or the lack of them, in Old English literature is Mary Swan, 'Authorship and Anonymity', in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford, 2001), pp. 71–83.

with seemingly intractable features of the Chronicle's style (especially the style of the Common Stock and the sparser portions later): paratactic syntax (which fails explicitly to link events into a causal chain) and formulaic diction. Stodnick argues that the restricted diction of the Chronicle is a highly artificial mode and that it serves 'to transcend the chronological order of the account itself and to suggest both a notion of historical continuity and a connectedness between events and figures distinguished by means of the same formula'. In her discussions of formulae for death (the same for both royal and ecclesiastical figures) and for victory she shows how the chroniclers integrate Christian and national history and how they mark ethnic divisions between English and Danes; moreover, she suggests that the formulae create a sense of the generic identity of the Chronicle which eleventh-century chroniclers share with their ninth-century predecessors.

This editor's chapter provides a bridge between the opening four essays and the following section on 'the Chronicle as history'. It takes up Home's interest in authorship and authorial effects and examines the creation of narrative voice in the *Æthelredian Chronicle* of CDE and its reworking by the scribe-compiler of manuscript F. The interest in style and in narrative has much in common with Stodnick's contribution while the recurrent theme of compositional processes emerges in discussion of the editorial methods shown in F. The suggestion is that close reading of style can tell us about how the *Æthelredian Chronicle* and the F-text construct English identity, while also giving us a more nebulous but perhaps more intriguing contact with the F-scribe himself.

The topic of identity and the notion that the Chronicle 'constructs' Englishness lead us to one of two main aspects of reading 'the Chronicle as history'. This heading is used here as a shorthand for approaches whose main focus is less on the internal economy of the Chronicle and its characteristics as a piece of writing and more on what it can tell us about political, economic, social, or intellectual life in the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods. The two main aspects of such kinds of reading are the assessment of the Chronicle as a source of data — how are we to understand the information in the Chronicle and how useful is the Chronicle for any given historical topic? — and exploring how the Chronicle works as itself a site and instrument of historical change, for instance as it participates in the shaping of a discourse of Englishness. In the present collection, the juxtaposition of these different approaches is not intended to illustrate a theoretical split between positivist history and radical post-structuralism, between the position that history is essentially concerned with retrieving objective facts about the past and the view that the past has no existence outside language; rather, it is felt that what might be called topic-centred and text-centred modes of reading can complement and

inform each other and reveal the richness of the Chronicle as a source of insights into the early medieval period. These modes of reading converge especially on questions about the inclusion or omission of material in the Chronicle. What does or doesn't the Chronicle tell us? Does the selection of material signal a particular purpose or viewpoint on the part of the compilers, or — to pose a more post-structuralist question — does it serve to construct reality in a distinctive way?

Barbara Yorke's essay examines the seventh- and eighth-century annals in the Common Stock to see whether they display preoccupations characteristic of Alfred's circle. Her study is sensitive to the compiled nature of the text, looking for editorial trends rather than for obvious propaganda, and stressing that conclusions must be reached cautiously: the compilers worked with the sources available to them. She revisits the much-studied annal for 755, relating its treatment of kings and their followers to ideas in the Old English *Boethius*, Alfred's lawcode, and Asser, and notices the relevance of the story to the political situation at the end of the ninth century. Yorke also detects in references to royal burials, visits to Rome, and saints patterns that make sense in an Alfredian context. Yorke's essay thus illuminates both the Chronicle's likely ninth-century context and meaning and its usefulness as a source for the seventh and eighth centuries. The Chronicle is not Alfred's "'ideal" portrayal of West Saxon history' but it probably reflects the viewpoint of his circle; earlier West Saxon history is here seen 'through a ninth-century filter'. Anton Scharer's note takes another angle on the agenda of the ninth-century Chronicle, the features it shares with continental comparanda; and, as in his earlier work, Scharer argues emphatically for viewing the Chronicle as 'official historiography' from Alfred's court.<sup>69</sup> He makes the strong claim that the Chronicle resembles the *Royal Frankish Annals* in containing 'plain spin' and 'fabricated matter', and he suggests that a parallel with continental 'history book' manuscripts points to a complementary relationship between annals (the Chronicle) and biography (Asser's *Life*). Scharer raises the question of how medieval audiences would be brought to accept 'spin' in their histories, highlighting the significant fact that both continental annals and the Chronicle were often composed in quite large blocks rather than year-by-year.<sup>70</sup> Although only a brief note (to be expanded in a future

<sup>69</sup> Anton Scharer, 'The Writing of History at King Alfred's Court', *EME*, 5 (1996), 177–206; Scharer, *Herrschaft und Repräsentation: Studien zur Hofkultur König Alfreds des Grossen*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 36 (Vienna, 2000).

<sup>70</sup> It is worth noting what a surprisingly small proportion of annals in the extant manuscripts have the appearance palaeographically of being written up at short intervals. Sections that have this appearance are annals 1045–56 and 1065–66 in C (Ker, p. 252; O'Brien O'Keeffe, *MS C*, pp.

publication), Scharer's contribution is richly indicative of the implications of investigating compositional processes, cultural models, and audience reception for understanding the historical meanings of the Chronicle.

The next two essays illustrate the degree of variation in theoretical orientation between the contributors to the volume, but also the complementarity of topic-focused and text-focused approaches. Both resume and extend the Alfredian theme of Yorke's and Scharer's pieces in relation to a specific focus on power and landscape.<sup>71</sup> Scott Smith starts from the concept of royal *anweald* (power, sovereignty) articulated in the preface to *Pastoral Care* and other Alfredian texts; he argues that the annals 910–46AB use 'a textual practice most evident in royal diplomas, the writing of territorial bounds as a means for articulating and maintaining the legitimate possession of land'. Ryan Lavelle investigates what the Alfredian and Æthelredian portions of the Chronicle can tell us about the meaning and function of royal estates in the context of the Viking wars. The two take different approaches both to the gaps of the Chronicle and to the role of the compilers. A prominent concern for Lavelle is the problem of how to fill in what is unsaid in the Chronicle by supplying from other sources information that can clarify the Chronicle's account (which of the places mentioned are in fact royal *tunas*?). For Lavelle the Chronicle provides clues to economic and symbolic activity in the real world rather than itself constituting a construction of power/space, though he is interested in the chroniclers' awareness of the symbolism of royal estates and in their

xxvii–xxviii, xxxii–xxxvii, and xxxvii–xxxviii; Timofey Guimon, 'The Writing of Annals in Eleventh-Century England: Palaeography and Textual History', in *Writing and Texts in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Alexander R. Rumble (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 137–45 (pp. 138–41)); the First Continuation of MS E; and D from about 1054, though D is an eleventh-century compilation of about 1060, written from the first in many hands (Cubbin, *MS D*, pp. xiii–xv and lii–lv; but Guimon, 'Writing of Annals', pp. 141–45, argues that D was compiled in or after 1079). The number of scribes in A is debated and clearly large, but the general pattern seems to be one of writing up fairly long series of annals, though Dumville suggests annals 958 and 962–64 were entered soon after the event (Bately, *MS A*, pp. xxi–xlii; Dumville, 'Origins', pp. 61–62). MSS B, F, and G are not 'living' chronicles.

<sup>71</sup> Post-processual archaeology has led the way in drawing attention to the symbolic and cultural meanings of landscape and space, with text-based approaches gaining momentum more recently. Recent publications include the following: *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300*, ed. by Wendy Davies, Guy Halsall, and Andrew Reynolds, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages*, 15 (Turnhout, 2007); *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. by Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia, 1998); *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. by Florin Curta, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages*, 12 (Turnhout, 2005).

assumption that readers will understand the significance of references to such sites. Smith focuses rather on what the text itself does through its repeated tracings of territorial boundaries. He orientates his essay in relation to readings of the Chronicle as a document produced to serve a political agenda, but his emphasis is less on the intentions of the compilers than on the effects of a discursive practice that runs across some quite deep text-historical divides, including the divide between the Edwardian chronicle and the Mercian Register. Lavelle's and Smith's essays illustrate how scholarly readers 'produce' the Chronicle: Smith's Chronicle seems fuller and more continuous, Lavelle's more awkward and reticent. Nevertheless, the two essays share basic assumptions about the Chronicle, for example that it can be read as a political narrative, and have points of contact methodologically, most importantly their strong comparative dimension. The two pieces complement each other in looking at how power is articulated through both central points and borders.

The final essay in this section further illuminates the perspective of the Chronicle, but from an unfamiliar angle. Alex Woolf's study of references to the peoples of northern Britain in the A-text emphasizes the West Saxon focus of the southern recension, a vision Woolf characterizes as 'myopic'; it also underscores the centrality of the Vikings, since the only ninth-century mention of a northern people, the *Stræledwalas*, is in an annal on the movements of Healfdene. This essay illustrates both the limitations of the Chronicle and the new insights that can be gained from an unusual approach. Despite the glaring deficiencies of the A-text as a source for northern history, the ethnonyms used for northern peoples, examined in conjunction with Welsh, Scottish, Irish, and Norse sources, provide evidence for the changing identity of those peoples including the eclipse of *Peohtas* by *Scottas*. Woolf's study also sheds an intriguing light on the compilers of the Chronicle: it seems that the annalists of 875A (876C), 914A (915BC), and 920A may have been familiar with written Welsh. The overt orientation of the Common Stock is southwards towards Frankia and Rome, but Asser was Welsh and the closest parallels for chronicling in the vernacular are Irish.<sup>72</sup> The insular context of the Chronicle, and of the formation of Wessex, continues to invite further investigation.

The detailed interrogation of ethnonymic evidence in Woolf's essay, which includes discussion of orthography and morphology, forms a link to the final part of the collection, on 'the language of the Chronicle'. Both focusing on aspects of lexis,

<sup>72</sup> For comparison between the Chronicle and Irish parallels, see David Dumville, 'Latin and Irish in the *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 431–1050', in *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamond McKitterick, and David Dumville (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 320–41.

the two essays in this section highlight the necessarily interdisciplinary nature of Chronicle studies. While the interdependence of 'historical' and 'literary' approaches is perhaps self-evident in the first two sections of the collection (the Chronicle is a body of *writing* about the *past*), the study of lexis, morphology, syntax, and so forth might seem to move decisively away from issues of content and form and to be positioned in a different body of scholarly publications. But language is itself a historical and social phenomenon. To read the evidence of the Chronicle for the English language continues to demand attention to the text-history, to the way the Chronicle developed in specific historical circumstances, and to the kind of text it is, while, as we have already seen in Woolf's essay, the linguistic features of the Chronicle constitute part of its evidence for early medieval history.

Jayne Carroll's essay arises from her work with David Parsons on the corpus of mint-signatures, the place-names recorded as minting places on Anglo-Saxon coins. Her approach is explicitly comparative and evaluative and her discussion falls into two parts: how can the mint-signatures supplement or reveal the deficiencies of the Chronicle's record of events, and what can they tell us about the view the Chronicle provides of late Old English? She shows that the mint-signatures can sometimes be used to reconstruct historical situations not mentioned by the Chronicle, as for example the use of a hillfort, Cissbury, as a place of refuge and emergency mint; elsewhere they can contribute evidence — though sometimes negative evidence — for the identity of places mentioned in the Chronicle, such as Æthelflæd's borough of *Weardburh* (Mercian Register 915BC). As linguistic data, the mint-signatures can tip the balance in favour of a certain etymology or destabilize an accepted interpretation. The spellings used on coins reveal the spelling system of the Chronicle manuscripts to be conservative; the coins offer early evidence for sound changes such as the loss of *h* before *r* and *l*. Carroll's study underlines the need to appreciate the conventions and institutional settings that conditioned the writing of the Chronicle, and to read it in the context of other kinds of source, in order to use it effectively for both historical and linguistic research.

Finally, Sara Pons-Sanz offers a detailed survey of the Norse-derived terms in the Chronicle, concentrating on those portions which have not so far received such intensive examination for their Norse vocabulary (that is, she excludes the First and Second Continuations and the Peterborough Interpolations of the Peterborough Chronicle). Pons-Sanz's study shows how complex are the implications of the textual development of the Chronicle for tracing the geographical and chronological distribution of Norse terms: the Norse vocabulary is itself part of the evidence for the provenance of some annals. Besides assigning words to textual strata, Pons-Sanz considers their cultural associations and the semantic fields to

which they belong. The Chronicle versions paint a similar picture to other Old English texts in that they show Old Norse making its strongest early impact in the technical fields of law, seafaring, and warfare, but the Chronicle manuscripts record the earliest uses of some terms. Pons-Sanz's study brings out the problems but also the potential of using the Chronicle to investigate the routes and nature of Old Norse influence on Old English, including perhaps 'the lexical practices of some Scandinavianized areas which are not very well represented in the extant Old English texts'.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is a complex body of materials in which particular annals have meaning not only in relation to their original contexts of production but in relation to the successive textual settings, and also the different places, times, and social and political milieux, in which they were edited and reused. To uncover these meanings, and to learn what the Chronicle can tell us about politics, culture, and language up to the twelfth century, we need to bring together different reading strategies. It is not a failure to discriminate but a response to the character of the Chronicle as text and as historical and linguistic evidence to argue that divergent approaches complement one another. Approaches that read manuscripts in relation to their non-Chronicle intertexts and contemporary settings complement approaches that compare texts for text-historical or evidential purposes, or that focus on subchronicles deducible from the extant texts. This introduction has highlighted the tension within both the Chronicle and profitable strategies of reading the Chronicle between breaking down into distinct parts and building up into larger wholes; it has stressed the need for both text-centred and topic-centred readings; and it has argued that Chronicle studies are, and should be, fundamentally interdisciplinary. These points made, the volume rests on certain basic positions towards the Chronicle and the reading of the Chronicle. The Chronicle is not an innocent record: it is partial and ideologically charged, and the days are gone — if they ever were — when its account could simply be taken on trust. Furthermore, the Chronicle makes meaning through formal, generic, and indeed orthographical and spatial conventions: even the least promising annals demand, and reward, careful scrutiny. Finally, the text-historical method and the requirement to grapple with the processes by which the Chronicle was compiled remain fundamental.

Scholars of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are fortunate in that they can build on a long tradition of careful work. This collection shows that many avenues of research remain vital that were already being pursued by Charles Plummer in his day — questions not just about textual relations but about the nature of the Chronicle

as narrative, the implications of annalistic form, and the possible Alfredian connection.<sup>73</sup> The Chronicle versions have much to contribute to topics that have recently gained prominence, such as national and ethnic identity and the cultural meanings of space and landscape. The Chronicle responds to innovative or unusual questions, such as those asked here by Carroll and Woolf; and certain areas are only beginning to be investigated in real depth, such as the late manuscripts E and F.<sup>74</sup> It is to be hoped that this collection will help to stimulate further efforts, and further sensitivity and creativity, in reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Earle and Plummer, II, pp. xvii–xxii and civ–cix.

<sup>74</sup> Stodnick, ‘Second-Rate Stories?’, pp. 1259–61.

<sup>75</sup> I wish to thank Helen Conrad-O’Brian and Francis Leneghan for reading and commenting on this introduction.

## Part I

# The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as Literature



## MALCOLM AND MARGARET: THE POEM IN ANNAL 1067D

Thomas A. Bredehoft

In Earle and Plummer's venerable (and still valuable) edition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a brief five-line passage from annal 1067D is printed in lines of alliterating and rhyming verse:

*ond cwæð þæt heo hine ne nanne habban wolde.  
gyf hire seo uplice arfæstnys geunnan wolde.  
þæt heo on mægðhade mihtigan drihtne.  
mid lichoman heortan. on þisan life sceortan.  
on clænre forhæf\e/dnyse cweman mihte.<sup>1</sup>*

Syntactically, the whole of this passage is dependent upon the previous material for the proper identification of the subject (*heo*), but apparently this circumstance was not seen as a problem: the poetic passage as printed in Earle and Plummer simply begins in the middle of a sentence. Undoubtedly, Earle and Plummer's identification of this passage — and only this passage — as poetic was due largely to its use of rhyme: in the later portions of the Chronicle, the more the poems depart from the Sieversian standards of classical Old English verse, the more this edition seems to have relied on the presence of rhyme for their identification.<sup>2</sup> But, as I will argue

<sup>1</sup> Earle and Plummer, I, 201. 'And [she] said that she would not have him at all, if the heavenly grace would grant to her that she might, in clean abstinence, please the powerful Lord in maidenhood with her bodily heart during this short life.' In the Old English text, I have expanded Plummer's abbreviations and indicated the expansions with italics; this practice differs from the conventions employed in the ASCCE. Note also that, as Earle and Plummer's edition makes clear, the letters *licre* are interlined above the *-an* of *lichoman*. Throughout, translations are my own.

<sup>2</sup> Consider the rhyming passages printed as verse by Earle and Plummer in annals 1036CD, 1075/76DE, 1086E, 1067D, and 1104E. The clearest counter-example among the non-canonized

here, annal 1067D actually includes a poem of no less than thirty-five lines, making it the longest of the Chronicle poems to be excluded by the ASPR. Earle and Plummer (and succeeding editors and readers) failed to recognize the full extent of the 1067D poem solely through a failure to understand the metrical forms of late Old English verse; the failure has had consequences, however, for our understanding of this annal and its significance in the context of the Chronicle and its manuscripts, as well as for our understanding of Old English poetry in the eleventh century.<sup>3</sup> In particular, I will suggest not only that understanding the full extent of the 1067D poem will change how we perceive the relationship between the D and E Chronicles in the post-Conquest annals, but it will also provide surprising but powerful evidence that at least one eleventh-century poet saw Ælfric as a poetic master worth borrowing from and imitating.

In some senses, the modern reception of the 1067D poem simply exemplifies the difficulties that modern scholars and readers have faced when confronted by the Chronicle's verse passages. With no true poems present in the Common Stock, the decision of later chroniclers to include poems is surely one of the most remarkable innovations in the history of the Chronicle, while the diversity of poetic forms seemingly included has frequently baffled modern readers. A poem like *The Battle of Brunanburh* clearly belongs well within the formal and literary bounds of the larger Anglo-Saxon poetic tradition, but a number of other Chronicle passages seem only marginally poetic, at least when compared to the classical standards of *Brunanburh* and *Beowulf*, and editors and readers have sometimes treated these passages as verse and sometimes as prose. Yet perceptible literary themes seem to link passages of both sorts, suggesting that where modern scholars have often found irreconcilable differences, Anglo-Saxon chroniclers may have found continuities.<sup>4</sup>

Chronicle poems is the poem in 1057D, which is perhaps the passage whose metrical structure is least apparent.

<sup>3</sup> Earle and Plummer's five lines of verse are retained in *An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. by E. Classen and F. E. Harmer (Manchester, 1926), while Cubbin, *MS D*, p. 82, n. 6, reads 'There are no indications of verse in the MS' and lineates the passage as prose. The 1067D poem is not included in the ASPR or in Fred C. Robinson and E. G. Stanley, *Old English Verse Texts from Many Sources*, EEMF, 23 (Copenhagen, 1991). R. D. Fulk, *A History of Old English Meter* (Philadelphia, 1992), p. 258, prints the five rhyming lines only. Michael J. Swanton says 'What follows is rhetorically heightened', suggesting that he may not see the passage as verse at all: Swanton, *ASC*, p. 201, n. 15. In Bredehoft, *TH*, I treated the 1067D poem as including only the five rhyming lines; my comments here should be taken as supplementing and replacing the analysis and commentary there.

<sup>4</sup> For a tracing of some literary themes in the Chronicle poems, see Bredehoft, *TH*, pp. 99–118.

As discussed more fully below, an improved understanding of the late tradition of Old English verse has the potential to clarify the verse structure of passages that previously seemed only marginally poetic, and thus to help clarify the place of poetry in the Chronicle itself. One important beneficiary of such a new understanding is clearly the poem in annal 1067D.

In any attempt to assess the 1067D poem, it is important to begin by noting that the poetic passage stands at or near the beginning of what has generally been understood as an interpolation within annal 1067D, one of the many cases of chronological look-forward in the Chronicle that announce to readers that the annal (or part of it) was composed some time after its nominal date. Without considering the interpolated material, the annal is — in terms of its contents — rather unexceptional for this part of the Chronicle, detailing significant deaths and the movements of important personages such as William, Prince Edgar, Harold's sons and mother, and so on.<sup>5</sup> Such material is quite typical of annals in this stretch of the Chronicle, and — were it not for the apparent interpolation — the 1067D annal would hardly stand out from its surroundings at all.

The look-forward that marks the interpolation in annal 1067D involves reference to the marriage of Malcolm and Margaret that took place in 1070. The beginning of the interpolation as I identify it coincides with the actual beginning of the poem, describing Malcolm's wooing of Margaret, her initial refusal, their marriage (and the providence of God that foresaw it), and the improvement to Malcolm's character brought about by her practices. It continues by quoting the apostle Paul to the effect that spouses often have beneficial effects on one another and then (after the poetic passage) concludes with two genealogical comments: an alliterative genealogy that links Margaret to the tenth-century King Edgar and a brief prose comment on her mother's family. The reference to the marriage indicates that, at the earliest, the passage was written some time after 1070, when the marriage took place, but how much later than that has been a matter of some debate.

Earle and Plummer and both Dorothy Whitelock and Michael Swanton (in their translations) all have hypothesized that the interpolation derives (in full or in part) from some lost *Life* of Margaret. Plummer dates the interpolation, on this basis, to some time 'after the marriage of her daughter Edith-Matilda to Henry I in 1100'.<sup>6</sup> Whitelock suggests that such a conclusion 'is not certain', while suggesting

<sup>5</sup> It does seem to be the case that annal 1067D includes a number of events that must be dated to 1068, and that (as Whitelock noted) 'the scribe must have divided his annals wrongly' (Earle and Plummer, II, p. cxliib). Also, see below, especially note 28.

<sup>6</sup> Earle and Plummer, II, p. lxxviii.

that the interpolator ‘could hardly have access to a *Life* of her before her death in 1093’.<sup>7</sup> Swanton’s note that portions of the interpolation are ‘rhetorically heightened and may derive from some *Life* of St Margaret’ seems to make explicit what Plummer and Whitelock leave implicit: it is presumably the rhyming form of one portion of the interpolation that encourages these scholars to think it may derive from a lost *Life* of Margaret, perhaps a vernacular verse life in particular.<sup>8</sup> Rather than comparing the brief passage in 1067D with the tradition of Chronicle poetry, these scholars, I believe, have hypothesized a lost *Life* of Margaret precisely because only a small part of the interpolated material seemed to be metrical, and they have concluded that it was excerpted from some larger, but lost, source. Perhaps partially influenced by a recognition of the syntactic anomaly noted above (the fact that the poem begins in the middle of a sentence) these scholars seem to have treated the five rhyming lines essentially as a quotation, drawing conclusions or making hypotheses about the source from which such a quotation might have been drawn.

But, as I noted above, a more complete understanding of the forms of late Old English verse will allow us to see that the interpolation in annal 1067D includes a thirty-five line poem, five consecutive lines of which happen to feature rhyme in addition to using alliteration. The poem we find, from such a perspective, is syntactically, stylistically, and rhetorically complete: there is no need at all to hypothesize any longer work from which it might stand as a quotation, and no need to suppose the existence of a *Life* of Margaret. In the remainder of this essay, then, I will provide a brief account of the principles of late Old English verse and a brief reading of the Malcolm and Margaret material in the context of the Chronicle in general; a preliminary edition of the 1067D poem (and of the interpolation that contains it) is included in the Appendix.

As I briefly suggested in my book on the Chronicle (and as I have explored more fully in *Early English Metre*), the late Old English verse of the Chronicle and elsewhere can be understood as differing from the classical Old English verse described by Sievers and Bliss in three basic ways: first, it makes no use of resolution; second, it makes use of only two metrically distinct stress levels; and third, it allows extrametrical syllables before any initial foot.<sup>9</sup> Further, there seem to have been associated changes at the level of the full line, allowing alliteration to link any two syllables (including occasional examples of AA- and BB-alliteration) and allowing

<sup>7</sup> Whitelock, *ASC*, p. xvi.

<sup>8</sup> Swanton, *ASC*, p. 201, n. 15.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas A. Bredehoft, *Early English Metre* (Toronto, 2005).

verse rhyme to link half-lines.<sup>10</sup> The evidence for these changes is presented in full in *Early English Metre*; for my purposes here it is sufficient to summarize the resulting metrical system.

In brief, metrical late Old English verses were combinations of two types of feet: stressed feet (S-foot) and unstressed feet (x-foot).<sup>11</sup> These feet can simply be listed:

x-foot	x, xx
S-foot (classically allowed)	S, Sx, Sxx, SxS, SxxS, SS, SSx
(newly authorized)	Sxxx, SxxxS, SxSx, SSxx, SxSxx, SxxSx, SxxxSx

These feet could combine into half-lines by a pair of remarkably simple rules that can be schematized as follows:

[x-foot]/[S-foot]      and      [S-foot]/[S-foot].

Unstressed extrametrical elements were allowed before either foot, and half-lines were generally linked (as noted above) by alliteration or verse rhyme. In surviving examples of late Old English verse, it also seems clear that occasional unlinked lines were tolerated. As a system, late Old English verse was clearly characterized by having a much larger number of allowed metrical feet than classical verse, but the rules for combining those feet into metrical verses and lines were correspondingly simplified, and the late verse system seems to have been plausibly simple and useable.

Applying these understandings to the interpolated passage in annal 1067D, it seems clear that the full extent of the poem includes the thirty-five poetic lines presented in the Appendix. Such a conclusion has several immediate benefits for our reading of the passage. First, of course, we now see that there is no syntactic anomaly at the beginning of the poem: the subject of the verb *cwæð* in what is now verse 4a is explicitly expressed in verse 3b, within the poem rather than outside it. Also, the remarkable translation of the Latin *Saluabitur* as ‘bið gehalgad *ond* gehæled’ is far easier to understand in a verse context than in a prose context: here the Latin verb is translated as an alliterating doublet, and the line as a whole has AABB-alliteration. Further, certain verbal parallels seem to link this poem to earlier poems, especially earlier Chronicle poems. In the *Malcolm and Margaret* poem, the

<sup>10</sup> The term ‘verse rhyme’ is adapted from Steven Brehe, “Rhythmical Alliteration”: Ælfric’s Prose and the Origins of La3amon’s Metre’, in *The Text and Tradition of La3amon’s Brut*, ed. by Françoise Le Saux (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 65–87; the term usefully indicates rhyme that links the final syllables of the two half-lines of a line of Old English or early Middle English verse.

<sup>11</sup> As noted in *Early English Metre*, I base my formalism on that of Geoffrey Russom, *Old English Meter and Linguistic Theory* (Cambridge, 1987); for a full account of his formalism, see this work.

verse ‘callswa hire gecynde wæs’ echoes verses from *Beowulf* and *Daniel*, as well as the 975DE poem’s verse 6b ‘swa him wæs gecynde’.<sup>12</sup> Likewise, the doubly alliterating b-line in the *Malcolm and Margaret* poem, 25b, ‘swa he full witter wæs’, seems to echo the doubly alliterating line 23b of *The Death of Alfred*, ‘swa he wyrðe wæs’. It is very much worth pointing out that these two earlier Chronicle poems appear together only in the D-manuscript of the Chronicle.<sup>13</sup>

Even more remarkably, however, a number of the verses in this poem powerfully echo passages from Ælfric and his late Old English verse compositions. Since Ælfric has, until recently, been insistently identified as a prose writer, it is worth discussing this poem’s Ælfrician relationships in some detail.<sup>14</sup> First, both of the verses with parallels in preceding Chronicle poems also show equally close (or even closer) parallels with passages from Ælfrician works:

*Malcolm and Margaret* 25b: swa he full witter wæs

*Malcolm and Margaret* 35b: callswa hire gecynde wæs

Pope, 21, 278b: swilce hi gewittige wæron

Godden, 18, 35–36: swa swa him gecynde wæs.<sup>15</sup>

Both homilies in question employ Ælfric’s rhythmical style. Other verses from the passage also have Ælfrician resonances. The rhyming verse 6b, ‘mihtigne drihtne’, has parallels in both classical and late Old English verse, but also in Ælfric, who

<sup>12</sup> Note that 975E has ‘swa wæs him gecynde’ (Earle and Plummer, I, 121); the relevant classical verses are *Beowulf* 2696b and *Daniel* 3b, both cited (along with the verse from *The Death of Alfred*) from the ASPR. Further citations of verse, unless otherwise noted, will all derive from the ASPR.

<sup>13</sup> As noted in the Appendix, it is possible that the Wulfstanian 959 poem is also echoed in *Malcolm and Margaret*; this poem, too, appears in the D-manuscript. Although the evidence is probably not sufficiently extensive to make the case certain, it seems possible that verbal parallels in this poem to poems occurring earlier in the D-manuscript may suggest that the author of the *Malcolm and Margaret* poem was drawing directly upon the tradition of Chronicle verse as exemplified in the D-manuscript.

<sup>14</sup> In *Early English Metre*, I argue that there is no clear formal difference between Ælfric’s so-called rhythmical prose and late Old English verse as exemplified by the Chronicle poems, and also that there is some positive evidence (in terms of scribal pointing and presentation) in favour of understanding Ælfric as a versifier. The evidence I present in this essay suggests that at least one eleventh-century poet found Ælfric to be a source of inspiration and even quotation.

<sup>15</sup> In citations from Ælfric, I shall reference the following editions: *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, ed. by J. C. Pope, 2 vols, EETS, OS, 259–60 (Oxford, 1967–68), and *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, EETS, SS, 5 (Oxford, 1979). References will be according to editor, item number, and line number. *Malcolm and Margaret* refers to the 1067D poem, with line numbers derived from the edition in the Appendix.

rhymes *drihten* with some form of *miht* over forty times, almost always in the b-line, as here.<sup>16</sup> To our poem's line 27, 'Be þam se apostol Paulus, ealra þeoda lareow, cwæð', compare Ælfric's 'Paulus se apostol, ealra þeoda lareow'.<sup>17</sup> But, most tellingly, *Malcolm and Margaret's* poetic translation of the passage from Paul also seems dependent on Ælfric. We read in the poem,

'Ful oft se ungeleaffulla wer  
bið gehalgad *ond* gehæled þurh þæt rihtwise wif,  
*ond* swa gelice þæt wif þurh geleaffulne wer.' (30b–32)<sup>18</sup>

The degree of lexical similarity to Ælfric's version of the same Pauline passage is so striking as to suggest a direct link: 'þæt ungeleaffulle wif byð gerihtwisod þurh þone geleaffullan wer' and 'se ungeleaffulla wer byð gerihtwisod þurh þæt [ge]leaffulle wif'.<sup>19</sup> Taken together, these Ælfrician resonances must surely indicate that the

<sup>16</sup> The closest parallels to the *Malcolm and Margaret* verse all come from the second series of the *Catholic Homilies*:

Godden, 10, 325: mihtiges drihtnes (would be a b-line if lineated as verse)

Godden, 14, 216: mihtigum drihtne (b-line)

Godden, 18, 154: to ðam mihtigan drihtne (a-line).

This particular rhyme is also the single most frequent rhyme in Old English poetry exclusive of Ælfric, used over eighty times. See Thomas A. Bredehoft, 'Old English and Old Saxon Formulaic Rhyme', *Anglia*, 123 (2005), 204–29.

<sup>17</sup> Pope, 20, 390. Elsewhere in Ælfric, compare to 'Se apostol Paulus, ealra þeoda lareow' (Pope, 19, 70–71, in a paragraph printed as prose by Pope, but actually in verse) and 'Paulus se apostol ealra ðeoda lareow' (Godden, 20, 1); the latter is a homily which Malcolm Godden (*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary, and Glossary*, EETS, SS, 18 (Oxford, 2000), pp. xxxvi–xxxvii) does not include in his list of alliterative homilies, but which nevertheless appears to be at least partially in late Old English verse.

<sup>18</sup> 'Very often the unbelieving man is made holy and healed through the righteous woman and likewise the woman is through a faithful man.'

<sup>19</sup> Pope, 19, 96–99; this paragraph is printed as prose by Pope, but it can be lineated as verse. 'The unfaithful woman is rightly directed by the faithful man' and 'the unfaithful man is rightly directed by the faithful woman'. In the 1067D version of the translation, Ælfric's verb *gerihtwisod* is not used, but seems lexically linked to the adjective *rihtwise* which does appear, although interlined above this word is Ælfric's *leaffulle*. One or both forms (*rihtwise* and the interlined *leaffulle*) may derive from memorial reconstruction of the Ælfrician passage, which may account for other differences as well; on this topic in general, see Loredana Teresi, 'Mnemonic Transmission of Old English Texts in the Post-Conquest Period', in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 98–116. Note also that the use of a brief Latin quotation, followed by a reference to an English version, followed by a translation, is a common mode of development in Ælfric.

*Malcolm and Margaret* poet drew more or less directly on Ælfric's works; identifying this passage as a poem in the Chronicle, then, offers surprising but important evidence for a near-contemporary perception that Ælfric himself wrote verse.<sup>20</sup>

Beyond the clear reliance on Ælfric and possibly on other Chronicle poems, the *Malcolm and Margaret* poem fits well within the standards of late Old English verse in a number of ways. It has alliterative linking between the half-lines in twenty-seven of thirty-five lines; rhyme alone links one line (21) and AA- and BB-alliteration (or both) serve in three lines (3, 27, and 31). That leaves four lines (14, 18, 30, and 34) with no certain alliterative link, which compares favourably with the two lines in the 1086E *William the Conqueror* poem that also have no clear link.<sup>21</sup> In the final five lines we see what might be best interpreted as a formal alliterative flourish: a line with AABB-alliteration and two lines with cross alliteration; in such a context, the alliteration linking the final stresses of lines 33 and 34 (which otherwise shows no linkage at all) may not be accidental, especially since l-alliteration is also primary in line 32.<sup>22</sup>

Considered as a whole, the passage printed as verse in the Appendix does seem to have the thematic coherence and unity that we would hope to find in a poem. It begins with Malcolm's wooing of Margaret (including her initial refusal), and it concludes with a general statement of her accomplishments in his country. The two references to scripture (one referring to Matthew 10. 29; the other a paraphrase of I Corinthians 7. 14) bracket the reference to the actual marriage, and both serve (in context) to articulate the salutary effects of Margaret's religious feeling upon her husband. The parallelism — as well as the scriptural content — serves to emphasize the power of God's will in the circumstances and results of the

<sup>20</sup> Should readers of this essay prefer to continue to identify Ælfric's characteristic style as 'rhythmical prose', the implications are still important: the 1067D passage then must be seen as a late eleventh-century exemplification of rhythmical prose, clearly written not by Ælfric but by an anonymous follower. If we do not see *Malcolm and Margaret* and the works of Ælfric as verse, it would still be important to recognize that this passage powerfully identifies a second practitioner of 'rhythmical prose'.

<sup>21</sup> Three of the four unlinked lines, however, do feature an alliterative link to an adjacent line; see the discussion of such linking in Bredehoft, *Early English Metre*, p. 89. In general, a comparison of these aspects of this passage with my examination of poetic linkages in Ælfric's *Life of St Sebastian* shows similar frequencies of various linking strategies (*Early English Metre*, pp. 86–90).

<sup>22</sup> For other examples of alliterative flourishes at the end of a poem or passage, see *The Order of the World* and Ælfric's *Life of Oswald*. These examples are discussed (respectively) in Thomas A. Bredehoft, 'Estimating Probabilities and Alliteration Frequencies in Old English Verse', *Old English Newsletter*, 34 (2000), 19–23, and in *Early English Metre*, pp. 95–96.

marriage. Given this overall structure, it is difficult (and I think inappropriate) to suppose that we are dealing here with some excerpt from a longer work: the poem about Malcolm and Margaret seems to stand on its own as an independent composition.

In the context of the Chronicle poems as a whole, the recognition of the full extent of the 1067D poem only increases our appreciation of the degree to which it fits itself into the Chronicle tradition. Most important, in this context, are the passages in this poem that refer to Margaret's influence on Malcolm (and on the Scottish nation) in terms of their practice of Christianity: these references seem to quite explicitly echo or recall the praise given to Edgar in the Wulfstanian poem recorded in annal 959DE. While my previous arguments about the Chronicle poems suggested that the ecclesiastical and religious concerns of the Wulfstanian poems really made no lasting impact on the Chronicle,<sup>23</sup> I think it is probably necessary now to revise that conclusion: the Malcolm and Margaret poem we now see in annal 1067D articulates a pious linkage between Margaret and Edgar that is paralleled by the alliterating genealogy placed at the end of the interpolated passage (recall that Edgar is the final king listed in non-patronymic form in the 1067D genealogy — he is precisely the king to whom Margaret's ancestry is traced). The construction of the interpolation as a whole, then, uses poetry and alliterating genealogy to invoke and to tie together two of the Chronicle's central continuing themes: the political legitimacy and continuation of the West Saxon royal line, on the one hand, and the influence of that line on insular Christianity, on the other. That it makes these associations through the use of a scriptural comment on God's providence suggests how powerfully this poem manages to integrate ecclesiastical and political concerns of preceding Chronicle poems.

Finally, however, I believe a greater understanding of and attention to this poem leads to a greater understanding of the 1067D interpolation and to a greater understanding of the relationship between the D and E Chronicles in the immediate post-Conquest period. As such, it is worthwhile to summarize the current perception of the relationship between D and E in the immediate post-Conquest years. As Dorothy Whitelock points out, 'from 1057 until "D" ends in 1079, [D and E] are again closely related, perhaps because they share a common source';<sup>24</sup> such a conclusion is, apparently, approved by the most recent editors of D and E,

<sup>23</sup> Bredehoft, *TH*, pp. 106–10.

<sup>24</sup> Whitelock, *ASC*, pp. xvii–xviii.

G. P. Cubbin and Susan Irvine, respectively.<sup>25</sup> Whitelock further notes that ‘Each manuscript has in addition material peculiar to it’, and the ‘Margaret of Scotland’ material (including the 1067D interpolation) seems to be understood as an especially clear example of such unique material.<sup>26</sup> Cubbin accepts a date of ‘circa 1080’ for the inclusion of this additional material on Margaret, while Whitelock (as noted above) had claimed a date before 1093 was improbable.<sup>27</sup>

Given the position that identifies the section of 1067 under consideration here as an interpolation, we can note that if we simply extract the interpolation from annal 1067D, what remains is a fairly straightforward account of the political goings-on of late 1067 and 1068.<sup>28</sup> Such a procedure would, if the hypotheses of Whitelock and Cubbin are correct, yield a resulting text more representative of the hypothetical shared source of 1067D and 1067E. But an actual comparison of the 1067D and 1067E annals proves that such an account as the one put together by Whitelock and Cubbin is probably not complete. Consider the following passages from the two texts:

1067D	1067E
And þæs sumeres Eadgar cild for ut. mid his modor \Agatha/ and his twam sweostran. Margaretan. and Christina.	<u>and þæs sumeres for Eadgar cild</u> <u>ut.</u>

<sup>25</sup> Cubbin, *MS D*, and Irvine, *MS E*.

<sup>26</sup> Whitelock, *ASC*, p. xviii. The most recent and judicious statement of the relationship between D and E in these annals is that of Susan Irvine, who writes: ‘E’s correspondences with D in this section point to a shared source for their annals at some stage in transmission. This source was presumably a set of northern annals, which has been considerably altered in the course of its separate transmission to D and to E. The fact that D and E each includes in addition northern material independently of the other may relate to these different treatments’ (Irvine, *MS E*, p. lxxxiv). The Malcolm and Margaret material (which Irvine does not specifically discuss) might be understood, according to Irvine’s comments, as either part of the shared annals or part of the ‘northern material’ found in D alone.

<sup>27</sup> Cubbin, *MS D*, p. lxxiv.

<sup>28</sup> The fact that the 1067D annal includes events from well into 1068 remains a remarkable feature. On the one hand, we might be tempted to read the date of the annal as being in error: it really ought to be dated as 1068. Such a perspective would seem to support the possibility that some distance in time separates the composition of this annal from the events described. But it is very much worthwhile to note that the E-manuscript shares some of the same apparent problems of chronology: the problems in dating in this section are not problems of the D-manuscript alone. See also the following discussion.

*and Mærlaswegen. and fela godra  
 manna mid heom. and comon to  
 Scotlande on Malcholomes  
 cyninges gryð. and he hi ealle  
 underfeng. Ða begann \se cyngc  
 Malcholom/ gyrnan his sweostor  
 him to wife Margaretan.<sup>29</sup>*

*and Mærleswegen. and fela  
manna mid heom. and foran to  
Scotlande.  
and se cyng Melcolm hi ealle  
underfeng. and genam þes cildes  
swuster  
to wife Margaretan.<sup>30</sup>*

I have given the whole of the relevant passage from 1067E, and as the underlined portions of the E-text suggest, there appears to be a very close relationship between the texts here. 1067E appears to eliminate some material, and to rearrange two phrases, but otherwise the 1067E version appears to be a mere simplification of the longer 1067D passage. Significantly, however, the last sentence from the quoted 1067D passage is the first sentence of the poem (and thus the first sentence of the interpolation) as I have presented it here. Apparently, at least some material from 1067E would seem to correspond to material derived from the interpolation itself. The only other explanation would seem to be the possibility that the poem was written as an expansion of material like that found in 1067E. But the sequencing of words in annal 1067E suggests, in my opinion, that the E-chronicler has simply borrowed a phrase or two from the beginning of the poem, rather than that the poem is a radical expansion of the text as we see it in E.<sup>31</sup> In short, I think that a

<sup>29</sup> Earle and Plummer, I, 200–01. ‘And in the summer, Prince Edgar departed with his mother Agatha and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina, and with Mærleswein, and many good men [went] with them, and came to Scotland under the protection of King Malcolm. And he received all of them. Then Malcolm the king began to desire his sister Margaret as his wife.’ I have again expanded Plummer’s abbreviations.

<sup>30</sup> Earle and Plummer, I, 200–01. ‘And in the summer, Prince Edgar departed with Mærleswein, and many good men [went] with them, and journeyed to Scotland. And Malcolm the king received all of them and took the prince’s sister Margaret as his wife.’ I have again expanded Plummer’s abbreviations. Underlined portions of the E-text are those which appear to correspond directly to material from 1067D.

<sup>31</sup> In particular, the ordering of the words ‘swuster to wife Margaretan’ (1067E), by splitting *swuster* and *Margaretan*, seems at least a little unusual in the prose context of annal 1067E, but the use of poetic variation makes the ordering of the same elements in the poem absolutely natural. Understanding the poem as a poem, then, seems clearly to strengthen the evidence that E borrowed from material that appeared substantially as we see it in 1067D. Compare also the comment of Mary Blockley, ‘Further Addenda and Corrigenda to N. R. Ker’s *Catalogue*’, in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. by Mary P. Richards (New York, 2001), pp. 79–85 (p. 81) that (in the context of suggesting that ‘and his broðer Vlf might be a metrical b-line’) ‘elsewhere in the prose portion of the *Chronicle* the proper name precedes the terms of relationship’.

careful consideration of the poem (and of the interpolation that contains it) suggests that the E-manuscript, in at least this annal (and, by implication, perhaps in other nearby annals), derives from a text like that in manuscript D, one that already included the 1067D interpolation. While I believe that previous readers of the D Chronicle (such as Earle and Plummer, Whitelock, Cubbin, and myself) have been inclined to see the 1067D poem (like the 1057D poem) as a purely local production, one tied into the D Chronicle and its particular northern concerns, a fuller consideration of this poem, its structure, and the remarkable fact that 1067E appears to borrow directly from the poem, suggests that the end sections of the D Chronicle may have been more widely distributed than has generally been realized, and that it is the E-manuscript which diverges, in this section, from D, rather than the other way around.

The implications for our understanding of the textual history of the E Chronicle are not insignificant. Cubbin's implied chronology for the development of the final stage of manuscript D suggests that, sometime 'circa 1080', the D-chronicler had access to a set of annals from 1057 to 1079 that were later also employed (presumably from a different copy) by a chronicler in the E-manuscript tradition. The D-chronicler, working from those E-like annals, supposedly then added in the 1057D poem and the 1067D interpolation, perhaps along with other materials. The likelihood I have explored here — that annal 1067E includes material originating in the 1067D 'interpolation' (and at this point, we might begin to identify it as an 'interpolation' in inverted commas) suggests that the E-text relies here on a D-like text, and that E abbreviates or excises the Margaret of Scotland material. The extensive similarities between D and E in this section may not merely derive from a single source shared by both; E must rely more specifically on a D-like text.

It remains possible, of course, that the poem and genealogy in annal 1067D were, indeed, interpolated into an annal which had previously existed without them. But the evidence of 1067E, I believe, cannot be used to support such a possibility, since the E Chronicle seems to have had access to a form of the 1067 annal that already included the poem. Importantly, it may (on this evidence) now be impossible to date the composition of the 1067 annal (and possibly subsequent annals as well) to any point much earlier than Cubbin's 'circa 1080' with any certainty, and the evidence of 1067D and 1067E suggests that we very probably ought to see the E Chronicle's post-Conquest record as one that has been highly and consciously edited.<sup>32</sup> Although it lies beyond the scope of the present essay, such a

<sup>32</sup> In particular it seems clear now that annal 1067E provides a powerful glimpse of a moment when a piece of poetry was more or less explicitly excised from the ancestor of the E Chronicle. Since

reconsideration of the E Chronicle's post-Conquest record may have much to tell us about when, how, and where those annals were incorporated into the E-manuscript's immediate ancestor, a subject that should be of great interest.<sup>33</sup>

What I have attempted to do here began as a simple investigation into the full extent of the 1067D poem. But, as I hope I have shown, that investigation has led in some remarkable directions. For one, identifying this poem's debt to Ælfric gives us an invaluable glimpse into Ælfric's late eleventh-century reception, as well as suggesting that this poet, at least, perceived Ælfric as being himself a poet. Further, my investigation of this poem has led me to revise the current understanding of the relationship between the post-Conquest annals of the D and E Chronicles. Both insights would have been impossible without an understanding of the late Old English verse form that I briefly described above. In *Textual Histories*, I suggested that 'The process of "reading" the *Chronicle* is [...] always the process of reading the textual history of the *Chronicle*';<sup>34</sup> the readings I have undertaken here certainly seem to confirm such a judgement. But further, they suggest that our readings of textual history themselves must sometimes involve a sensitive reading of literary form and literary history. At the least, we must note that the literary issues that surround the Chronicle are often inseparable from the historical issues, and in the 1067D annal, we see that such connections can at least sometimes result in remarkable and surprising conclusions.

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E is notable among the Chronicle manuscripts for its sparse record of poetry, it seems at least possible that we might date the excision of many of the Chronicle poems from the E Chronicle's tradition to a point after annal 1067E, and (hence) to a date sometime after 1079, when we can no longer be certain of any connection between D and E. Although the amount of the 1067D poem that survives into 1067E is small, it has the potential to powerfully illuminate this key feature of our understanding of the development of E.

<sup>33</sup> I attempt to take up one aspect of this question in my forthcoming book, *Authors, Audiences, and Old English Verse*, suggesting that metrical and contextual similarities between the 1067D poem and the 1086E poem indicate that both may be written by the same author. In that book, I tentatively locate that author at Worcester in the 1080s or 1090s.

<sup>34</sup> Bredehoft, *TH*, p. 147.

## Appendix

### *A Preliminary Edition of the Interpolation in Annal 1067D*

It is clear that the full extent of the 1067D poem has never been recognized (Earle and Plummer and succeeding editors and readers have only ever considered lines 4–8 below as verse), but with a fuller understanding of the rules and flexibility of late Old English verse, we can identify the greater portion of the 1067D interpolation as a poem. These thirty-five lines of verse stand as a complete poem, and here I present a preliminary edition of this poem in its immediate context, including the whole of the interpolation in 1067D. The poem is inseparable from the context of this interpolation, I believe, and my edition thus includes more than simply the verse lines themselves.

The interpolation is relatively easily identified in the context of annal 1067D because it anticipates events of at least 1070, and the contents of the poem implicitly suggest an even later perspective. The fact that the interpolation contains both a poem and an alliterating genealogy makes it almost certain that it was composed explicitly for the Chronicle, where these two genres are so prominent, rather than imported wholesale from some other source. Regardless, the exact timing of the composition of this poem remains obscure; the unusual nature of the ending of the D Chronicle may suggest that all of the D-annals for the 1070s (and some earlier ones as well) were composed at one time; such a possibility would suggest that this poem was composed after 1079, where the D Chronicle ends; such a conclusion agrees well with G. P. Cubbin's date of 'circa 1080'.

The poem is of special interest for its reliance upon Ælfrician models; in the notes I attempt a relatively full account of the verses from Ælfric that seem to have been recalled or invoked by the poet.

Ða begann \se cyngc Malcholom/    gyrnan his sweostor him to wife  
 Margaretan.    Ac he *ond* his menn  
 ealle lange wiðcwædon,    *ond* eac heo sylf wiðsoc  
*ond* cwæð þæt heo hine    ne nanne habban wolde,  
 gyf hire seo uplice arfæstnys    geunnan wolde,    5  
 þæt heo on mægðhade,    mihtigne drihtne,  
 mid lichoman heortan,    on þisan life sceortan,  
 on clænre forhæf\e/dnyse    cweman mihte.  
 Se kyng befealh georne hire breðer    oðþæt he cwæð 'Ia' wið —  
*ond* eac he elles ne dorste,    forþan þe hi on his anwald    10  
 becumene wæron.    Hit wearð þa swa geworden swa God  
 foresceawode on ær,    *ond* elles hit beon ne mihte,  
 eall swa he sylf    on his godspelle sæið

þæt furðon an spearwa on gryn ne mæg befeallan  
 forutan his foresceawunge. Se forewitola Scyppend 15  
 wiste on ær hwæt he of hyre gedon habban wolde,  
 forþan þe heo sceolde on þan lande Godes lof geeacnian  
 ond þone kyng gerihtan of þan dweliande pæðe,  
 ond gebegean hine to beteran wege,  
 ond his leode samod, ond alegcean þa unþeawas 20  
 þe se þeod ær beeode, eallswa heo syððan dyde.  
 Se kyng hi þa underfeng þeah hit hire unþances wære,  
 ond him gelicade hire þeawas ond þancode Gode  
 þe him swylce gemæccean mihtiglice forgeaf,  
 ond wislice hine beþohte, swa he full witter wæs, 25  
 ond awende hine sylfne to God, ond ælce unsiuernysse oferhogode.  
 Be þam se apostol Paulus, ealra þeoda lareow, cwæð:  
 ‘Saluabitur uir infidelis per mulierem fidelem.  
 Sic et mulier infidelis per uirum fidelem.’ (et *reliquiae*.)  
 þæt is on uran geþeode: ‘Ful oft se ungeleaffulla wer 30  
 bið gehalgad ond gehæled þurh þæt rihtwise wif,  
 ond swa gelice þæt wif þurh geleaffulne wer.’  
 Deos foresprecene cwen seodðan on þam lande  
 manege nytwyrðe dæda gefremede Gode to lofe,  
 ond eac on þa kynnewisan wel geþeh, eallswa hire gecynde wæs. 35  
 Of geleaffullan ond æðelan cynne heo wæs asprungon. Hire fæder wæs Edward æpeling,  
 Eadmundes sunu kynges; Eadmund Æþelreding, Æþelred Eadgaring, Eadgar Eadreding,  
 ond swa forð on þæt cynecynn. Ond hire modorcynn gæð to Heinrice casere þe hæfde  
 anwald ofer Rome.

## Notes

The material immediately preceding the poem describes Malcolm’s reception of Edgar, his mother Agatha, his sisters Margaret and Christina, and Mærleswein into Scotland. As such it seems parallel to the material immediately following the interpolation that details the retirement or retreat of Gytha, Harold’s mother, to Flatholme. Both sections (in my reading) belong to the annal proper, rather than to the interpolation. Plummer describes the interpolation as ‘clumsily inserted’ before ‘the escape of Gytha’ (Earle and Plummer, II, 260), but the placement of the interpolation was likely caused by the already existing reference to Malcolm and Margaret in D’s source.

In the edited text, italics mark expanded abbreviations; slanted brackets enclose material inserted after the first writing as corrections or additions (although some later additions are indicated only in the notes).

- 3b. Note the use of BB-alliteration here. It is also at least possible that linking alliteration is intended on the prefix *wið*-; such alliteration on prefixes seems occasionally to be employed by Ælfric in his examples of so-called rhythmical prose, which I believe should also be considered as examples of late Old English verse; cf. also line 22 below.
- 6b. The rhyming collocation of *miht*- (or some form of *mihtig*) and *drihten* is the most common formulaic rhyme in Old English verse, appearing over eighty times in at least twelve other poems; the more than forty examples in the *Metrical Psalms* indicate how successfully this rhyme survived the transition into late Old English verse. In addition, Ælfric rhymes similar elements at least forty times in his late Old English verse texts. The closest parallels are the following:
- Godden, 10, 325: *mihtiges drihtnes*;  
 Godden, 14, 216: *mihtigum drihtne*;  
 Godden, 18, 54: *to ðam mihtigan drihtne*.
7. *licre* interlined over *-an* of *lichoman*, apparently in the hand of the original scribe. No mark of expunction is present, however. Manuscript points after the a-line and b-line seem to belong to a tradition of pointing late Old English verse in which rhyme-linked lines were pointed after each half-line.
10. Note the apparent alliteration on *elles* in this line and in 12b.
14. Cf. Matthew 10. 29; while no link appears to join the half-lines here, *spearwa* provides an alliterative link to the preceding line.
- 17b. Note that *ycean* is interlined (as a gloss?) over *geeacnian*. ‘Godes lof geeacnian’ may be reminiscent of 959DE’s ‘*and Godes lof rærde*’. Contextually, the passages are rather similar, describing Edgar’s and Margaret’s successes in spreading Christian worship. Other verbal similarities may exist between the two passages, but none is precise enough to indicate a certain relationship.
18. There does not appear to be any linking between the half-lines in this line.
21. Presumably, this line is linked by (off-)rhyme between *beeode* and *dyde*; the double-rhyme in the a-line, however, undoubtedly supports the metrical structure here, at least in the sense of minimizing its complexity.
22. Vocalic alliteration appears to link the prefixes *under*- and *un*- in this line.
- 25b. Cf. the similarly structured verse 23b of *The Death of Alfred*: ‘*swa he wyrðe wæs*’. Note that both Bosworth Toller and *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ed. by J. R. Clark-Hall, 4th edn, with a supplement by H. D. Meritt, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching, 14 (Cambridge, 1960; repr. Toronto, 1984) show this passage as the only OE use of the word *witter*, although it also appears

in Lazamon and in the *Ormulum*. This verse appears to have a fairly close parallel in Pope, 21, 278b: 'swilce hi gewittige wæron'.

27. *Apostol* always seems to alliterate on *p* (or to be stressed on the second syllable, if not alliterating) in the Old English verse tradition. Compare *Instructions for Christians* 125 and 259 and *Menologium* 122. This line, consequently, should be read as featuring AA-alliteration. The line as a whole has at least three close parallels in Ælfric:

Pope, 20, 90: Paulus se apostol, ealra þeoda lareow;

Pope, 19, 70–71: Se apostol Paulus, ealra þeoda lareow;

Godden, 20, 1: Paulus se apostol ealra ðeoda lareow.

- 28–29. A paraphrase of I Corinthians 7. 14: 'sanctificatus est enim vir infidelis in muliere fideli et sanctificata est mulier infidelis per virum fidelim'. Note that the Latin lines in the poem may be scanned as perfectly acceptable late Old English verses, but the Vulgate version is sufficiently similar that it is not clear that the paraphrase was done solely for reasons of alliterative form.

29. The Latin abbreviation *et rl~* is, presumably, extrametrical.

- 30–32. These lines stand as an abbreviation (with some rewriting) of the nearly identical material seen in Ælfric's *De Doctrina Apostolica*, Pope, 19, 96–99.

30. There does not appear to be any linking between the half-lines in this line, although the final syllable (*wer*) might be seen as alliteratively linked to lines 31b and 32. Alternatively, it might be possible to read alliteration linking *uran* and either *oft* or *ungeleaffulla*.

31. Note the AABB-alliteration. Interlined above *rihtwise* in 31b is the word *leaffulle*, presumably as a result of the passage's reliance on Ælfric, which uses a similar form. Although the change to *leaffulle* would improve the parallelism with 32b, it would destroy the BB-alliteration in 31b, and I think that *rihtwise* is the preferable reading.

34. There does not appear to be any linking between the half-lines in this line, although it may well be alliteratively linked to the preceding and following lines.

- 35a. *Kynewisan* appears to be a notably unusual word; Bosworth Toller lists occurrences only in the *Old English Bede*; the use of an unusual word here may have been prompted by the alliterative requirements of the line.

- 35b. Cf. *Beowulf* 2696b 'swa him gecynde wæs'; *Daniel* 3b 'swa him gecynde wæs'; *Death of Edgar II* (975D) 6b 'swa him wæs gecynde'. Seemingly, this phrase was a poetic commonplace (perhaps limited, as here, to the second half-line), although Bosworth Toller also lists examples from prose texts.

- 36–39. The alliterating genealogy might also be lineated as verse, but its status is uncertain, at best. See my comments on Old English alliterating genealogies and Old English verse form in *Textual Histories*, pp. 15–23. As was pointed out during the discussion following this paper at the York conference, the genealogy is, in fact, inaccurate in identifying Edgar as the son of Eadred.
38. The word *modorcynn* is also conspicuously unusual, not appearing in the main volume of Bosworth Toller and listed in Clark-Hall and Meritt as appearing only here.

## Translation

Then Malcolm the king began to desire his sister Margaret as his wife; but he and his men all spoke against it for a long time, and she herself refused and said that she would not have him at all, if the heavenly grace would grant to her that she might, in clean abstinence, serve the powerful Lord in maidenhood with her bodily heart during this short life. The King eagerly pressed her brother until he said ‘Yes’ in response — and indeed he dared not do else because they were come there under his rule. It was then come to pass as God had foreseen in the beginning, and it might not be otherwise, all as he himself in his Gospel says not even a sparrow can fall into a snare without his foreseeing. The foreknowing Creator knew in advance what he would have done by her because she must in that land increase God’s praise and steer the King from the path of error and turn him and his people as well to a better way, and let go the bad customs the people earlier practised: all as she afterwards did. The King then received her although it was against her will; and her customs pleased him and he thanked God who powerfully gave him such a mate and he wisely considered as he was greatly intelligent and turned himself to God and rejected all foulness. Regarding this, the apostle Paul, teacher of all nations, says: ‘Salvabitur vir infidelis per mulierem fidelem. Sic et mulier infidelis per virum fidelis, et reliquiae.’ That is, in our tongue, ‘Very often the unbelieving man is made holy and healed through the righteous woman and likewise the woman is through a faithful man.’ This previously mentioned queen afterwards performed many worthy deeds in praise of God in the land, and also prospered well in the commonwealth, as was natural to her.

She sprang from a faithful and noble race: her father was Edward Ætheling, son of King Edmund, Edmund son of Æthelred, Æthelred son of Edgar, Edgar son of Eadred, and so forth in that noble family. And her mother’s family goes back to Henry the emperor who had power over Rome.

## THE PRODUCTION OF THE PETERBOROUGH CHRONICLE

Susan Irvine

On Friday 4 August 1116, fire swept through the monastery at Peterborough. A Peterborough Interpolation at the end of the entry for that year in the Peterborough Chronicle tersely records what must have been a devastating blow for that community:

On þisum ylcan gear e bærnde eall þet mynstre of Burh 7 eallæ þa husas butan se Captelhus  
7 se Slæpperne, 7 þærto eac bærnde eall þa mæste dæl of þa tuna. Eall þis belamp on an  
Frigdæg, þet wæs .ii. nonas Augusti.<sup>1</sup>

No explicit reference is made to the loss of books and documents, but the very existence of the Peterborough Chronicle points to an attempt in the years following the fire to replenish the monastery's literary resources. Borrowing from another centre a copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the monks of Peterborough in or around AD 1122 proceeded to produce their own particular version of history, one in which events concerning Peterborough were significant enough to have been recorded as a matter of course. The enterprise seems to have been highly successful, for in the three decades or so after the Peterborough Chronicle for the years up to 1121 was copied, it continued to be maintained, if somewhat sporadically. The so-called First Continuation, which was probably written by the same scribe as the copied annals, consists of annals added in various blocks for the period 1122 to 1131; the Second Continuation, written by a different scribe, consists of annals

<sup>1</sup> Irvine, *MSE*, pp. 118–19. 'In this year the monastery of Peterborough, and all the buildings except for the chapter-house and the dormitory, were completely burnt, and in addition most of the town was burnt. All this happened on Friday 4 August.' Translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

covering the years from 1132 to 1154. This essay will examine the production of the Peterborough Chronicle (also known as MS E) up to 1131, the end of its First Continuation. Both the manuscript context and the relationship with the twelfth-century Latin chronicles for this period will be seen to provide important evidence for the process of composition and compilation.

Although in the manuscript of the Peterborough Chronicle (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 636) the entry for 1122 follows on immediately from the one for 1121 and is almost certainly written by the same scribe, there is a crucial distinction between the copied annals up to 1121 and the entries of the First Continuation. The striking homogeneity in appearance of the entries up to the end of 1121 (at fol. 81<sup>r</sup>, line 10) suggests that they were all copied by one scribe within a relatively short period of time.<sup>2</sup> This uniformity of script and ink, maintained over eighty folios, contrasts with the variation found in the entries for 1122 to 1131. Although the same scribe was probably responsible for copying all these First Continuation entries, they were clearly produced in a more piecemeal fashion, involving several different stints over at least a decade.<sup>3</sup> This palaeographical evidence would suggest that the scribe's main source for the entries up to 1121 was one large manuscript containing a copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from its beginnings in 60 BC but not extending beyond 1121.

The surviving manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle themselves include no witness to such a manuscript. With the exception of the Peterborough Chronicle, vernacular annals for the period from 1080 onwards are very rare indeed. The D version of the Chronicle in London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B IV, commonly known as the Worcester Chronicle, ostensibly continues up to 1080, the date of its last entry. The entry ascribed to 1080, however, is written in late twelfth-century script and language, and in fact records the slaying of Angus, earl of Moray, which occurred in 1130.<sup>4</sup> This is an extraordinary example of a twelfth-century attempt to yoke the Anglo-Saxon chronicling tradition to more contemporary annal-writing, but it is apparently independent of any continuation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle beyond 1080. Evidence that chronicle writing in English

<sup>2</sup> See *The Peterborough Chronicle (The Bodleian Manuscript Laud Misc. 636)*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, EEMF, 4 (Copenhagen, 1954). This edition can be consulted for all subsequent folio references in this essay.

<sup>3</sup> For the view that the scribe who copied all these annals was the same scribe who copied the annals up to 1121, see Ker, p. 425; *The Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 14; Clark, *PC*, pp. xvi–xvii; and Irvine, *MS E*, p. xix.

<sup>4</sup> Whitelock, *ASC*, p. xvi.

did continue into the twelfth century is provided more definitively by the fragment of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A IX, known as MS H. This is a single leaf which contains annals for the years 1113 and 1114.<sup>5</sup> Although it seems to provide important evidence that the Chronicle continued to be compiled at centres other than Peterborough in the twelfth century, its material is again quite independent of that found in the Peterborough Chronicle itself.

Material in Latin, ironically enough, offers the evidence for an Anglo-Saxon chronicle extending to 1121 which is not supplied by the extant vernacular witnesses. Two Latin chronicles can be compared most usefully with the Peterborough Chronicle for this period. The Waverley Annals, a set of Latin annals compiled in the early thirteenth century, present in their annals for 1000 to 1121 a close translation of a version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle similar to E, except for their omission of most of the material relating to Peterborough.<sup>6</sup> The clear implication is that the compiler of the Waverley Annals drew on a version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, one which was similar to that copied by the Peterborough Chronicle compiler but which was presumably compiled somewhere other than Peterborough.<sup>7</sup> The importance of this evidence is that it allows us to see how the Peterborough compiler constructed his text up to 1121. The compiler drew on a pre-existing version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, into which, in the course of copying, he interpolated records relating to the history of Peterborough Abbey, records which are now known as the Peterborough Interpolations.

A similar kind of evidence is available from Henry of Huntingdon's Latin historical work *Historia Anglorum*.<sup>8</sup> Henry also drew on a version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for post-Conquest as well as pre-Conquest material. Again he seems to have drawn on a version of the Chronicle close to MS E but without the Peterborough Interpolations.<sup>9</sup> Once more the implication is that this was a version of the Chronicle compiled at a centre other than Peterborough. And again, significantly, the clear relationship stops at 1121.

<sup>5</sup> Ker, no. 150; Earle and Plummer, I, 243–45.

<sup>6</sup> *Annales Monasterii*, ed. by Henry Richards Luard, vol. II, RS, 36.2 (London, 1865).

<sup>7</sup> For details of the relationship between the *Waverley Annals* and the Peterborough Chronicle, see Earle and Plummer, II, pp. lii–liii, and Henry H. Howorth, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, its Origins and History [Part III]', *Archaeological Journal*, 69 (1912), 312–70 (pp. 313–18).

<sup>8</sup> *Henry of Huntingdon*.

<sup>9</sup> See further Earle and Plummer, II, pp. lv–lvi, and *Henry of Huntingdon*, p. xcii.

The evidence of these Latin chronicles shows, as has been recognized, that the compiler of the Peterborough Chronicle used as an exemplar a version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which extended up to 1121. After the Conquest and certainly up to 1121, at least one other centre as well as Peterborough was maintaining a version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and the latter was probably the immediate source for the Peterborough Chronicle, except for its Peterborough Interpolations.

The possibility that Christ Church, Canterbury, may have played an important part in prolonging the life of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is suggested by the bilingual version of the work in London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A VIII, known as MS F. The text of F was written around 1100, probably at Christ Church, Canterbury. The scribe of F copied annals from an archetype of the Peterborough Chronicle, and also made changes to the Parker Chronicle (otherwise known as MS A). Peter Baker has convincingly shown that various Latin annals incorporated into the Peterborough Chronicle are the result of interventions into its archetype by the scribe of F.<sup>10</sup> The production of F at the turn of the century points to a continued interest in copying the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in this period, and also to a particular line of transmission to which the Peterborough Chronicle is indebted. Unfortunately, however, since it breaks off abruptly in 1058, it offers no evidence for an interest in updating the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. We can only assume, from the existence of the Peterborough Chronicle itself and from its Latin analogues, that at some stage a compiler or compilers added to the copy of E's archetype annotated by the scribe of F (or to a later copy) a series of annals recording England's more recent history up to 1121.

The provenance of the entries for 1080 to 1121 is unknown, and indeed they may have originated from a number of different centres. Almost certainly they are the work of more than one chronicler, as the variety of styles and approaches would seem to attest.<sup>11</sup> The high density of allusions to London may, as Cecily Clark suggests, point to a connection between that city and one or more of the chroniclers.<sup>12</sup> The exemplar used by the Peterborough chronicler may have come from Rochester or Canterbury, though Plummer's suggestion that the person through whom the exemplar was obtained 'may very possibly have been Bishop Ernulf of Rochester,

<sup>10</sup> Baker, *MS F*.

<sup>11</sup> Clark, *PC*, pp. xxiii–xxiv.

<sup>12</sup> Clark, *PC*, pp. xxii–xxiii.

who was Abbot of Peterborough 1107–1114, and before that Prior of Canterbury' remains no more than speculation.<sup>13</sup>

The evidence of the Latin chronicles offers us considerable information as to the working methods of the Peterborough compiler for the annals up to 1121. In large part these entries were copied from a vernacular exemplar which contained a copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle extending up to 1121. This particular copy of the Chronicle included the version now known as the Northern Recension (because it contained additional material relating to the northern parts of England), which had been conflated with other sources for the eleventh and twelfth centuries and also incorporated some additions by the scribe of F (mainly Latin annals). Insofar as it is ascertainable, it seems that the scribe, when copying these Chronicle annals, kept very close to his exemplar. There are some small errors which may be attributable to him, and there is evidence that he may be responsible for the distortion of chronology which occurs through the repetition of the annal-numbers 1043 and 1046.<sup>14</sup> His aim with the copied material, however, seems to have been to represent his exemplar as accurately as possible.

For his entries from the mid-seventh century onwards, the Peterborough annalist sporadically interpolates material relating to Peterborough. The annals for 654, 656, 675, 686, 777, 852a, 870, 963, 1013, 1041, 1052, 1066, 1069, 1070, 1102, 1103, 1107, 1114, 1115, and 1116 all contain information relating to Peterborough which has been inserted by the Peterborough annalist.<sup>15</sup> The compilation has been designed to ensure that the Interpolations are as unobtrusive as possible. Occasionally they comprise a whole new annal (852a and 963); more often they are incorporated within a pre-existing annal, either inserted into its middle or added at its end.<sup>16</sup> In the case of the annal for 1070, the insertion of the Interpolation into the middle of the annal has required some restructuring by the scribe of the original annal represented now by D's annal for 1071.<sup>17</sup> The annalist aims to smuggle Peterborough's records into the narrative so that they become seamlessly part of an authoritative account of English history.

<sup>13</sup> Earle and Plummer, II, p. liv, n. 4.

<sup>14</sup> Irvine, *MS E*, pp. lxxx–lxxxii.

<sup>15</sup> For an account of the Peterborough Interpolations and their link with other extant documents, see Irvine, *MS E*, pp. xc–xcviii.

<sup>16</sup> Although Plummer states that 'where they do not form complete annals, they always come at the end of the annals' (Earle and Plummer, II, p. liv), four of the Interpolations in fact occur mid-annal (those for 654, 870, 1070, and 1107).

<sup>17</sup> Cubbin, *MS D*, pp. 84–85.

Although the nature of the exemplar for the material copied from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle up to 1121 is clear, the sources for the Interpolations and the process by which they became part of the Peterborough Chronicle cannot be so easily established. A number of the Interpolations, especially the earlier ones, apparently derive from Latin charters and other documents (some more spurious than others). In the course of creating the Peterborough Chronicle, the annalist has drawn not only on vernacular Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entries but also on material written in Latin. These Latin sources have been translated into the vernacular. Since there is no evidence that the English versions circulated independently of the Peterborough Chronicle (unlike the Latin ones), it must be assumed that the translations were undertaken specifically for that Chronicle. Presumably the annalist was concerned to ensure a smooth transition between the copied and interpolated sections.

It is impossible to establish exactly the process by which this material was rendered into the vernacular. Any attempt to do so must take into account the notoriously nebulous and complex relationship between scribe, author, and compiler in the early Middle Ages. All three roles overlapped and interacted in ways that belie attempts to distinguish them. The manuscript context of the Peterborough Interpolations would seem to suggest a particularly close association between scribe, author, and compiler, to the extent that one cannot rule out a single identity for all three. One striking feature of the Peterborough Interpolations is the relatively high proportion of errors (such as erasures and omissions) made by the scribe in comparison to the material he has copied from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle exemplar.<sup>18</sup> The significant increase might suggest that the scribe was composing this material in the vernacular as he wrote. Other evidence would seem to support the scribe's prominent role in the composition and compilation of the Peterborough Chronicle. The compilation seems to be taking place even as the manuscript is being written. In some cases the Interpolations apparently represent later additions, since their contents spill beyond the normal textual boundaries. In the entries for both 1041 and 1052 the Interpolations extend into the right-hand and bottom margins.<sup>19</sup> In other cases the scribe has left gaps for material to be inserted later, but has then neglected to remedy the omission. In the entry for 1070, for example, the scribe leaves a gap followed by *hatte* (named), signalling his

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, the large number of erasures noted in the Peterborough Interpolations at 654 and 656, in Irvine, *MS E*, pp. 26–29.

<sup>19</sup> Irvine, *MS E*, pp. 77 and 84.

intention to identify the particular 'cynges tun' (king's estate) to which he has just referred.<sup>20</sup> The entry for 1117 finishes with the beginning of a new record 'And on þisum ylcan geare' (And in this same year), followed by a gap of almost two lines; although the scribe clearly intended to complete this annal, the additional material was never inserted.<sup>21</sup>

This kind of evidence certainly allows for the possibility that the scribe of the annals up to 1121 was also acting as compiler and himself composing in English the interpolated material. It is equally plausible, however, that the scribe's uneven performance in the Peterborough Interpolations reflects his attempt to incorporate material provided for him in a much scrappier and less polished form than the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle exemplar. It is also possible, furthermore, that a compiler assembled material pertaining to Peterborough which he then passed on to someone else to translate, by whom it was then passed on to the scribe. In this chapter the use of the terms 'the Peterborough annalist' or 'Peterborough chronicler' should not be seen to assume that the compiler of the Peterborough Chronicle and composer of the Interpolations and the entries from 1122 to 1131 are one and the same; it cannot be ruled out that beneath the sense of a single enterprise and perspective lies a more communal process of production.<sup>22</sup>

In constructing entries from a variety of sources, including material in the vernacular, material in Latin, and, probably, information which has been passed down orally, the Peterborough compiler is of course following time-honoured chronicling practice: all the versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle themselves offer a compilation of material from various origins.<sup>23</sup> The linguistic homogeneity arising from scribal usage imposes a semblance of uniformity on material drawn from such a variety of sources. In the case of the Peterborough Interpolations, the scribe is apparently reflecting the forms of his main Chronicle exemplar, whilst also inevitably introducing evidence of more familiar contemporary linguistic usage. Dialectal and late Old English forms are found throughout the scribe's work, but

<sup>20</sup> Irvine, *MS E*, p. 89.

<sup>21</sup> Irvine, *MS E*, p. 119.

<sup>22</sup> For further discussion of the authorship of the Interpolations and the First Continuation entries, see Malasree Home, 'Double-Edged Déjà Vu: The Complexity of the Peterborough Chronicle', below, pp. 85–88.

<sup>23</sup> Susan Irvine, 'The Sources of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS E (Cameron B.17.9)', 2002, *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: A Register of Written Sources Used by Anglo-Saxon Authors*, <<http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/>> [accessed 1 June 2005]; also available in *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*, CD-ROM Version 1.1, 2002.

it is noticeable that the language of the copied annals is generally more conservative than that of the Peterborough Interpolations, which in turn is more conservative than that of the First Continuation entries.<sup>24</sup> It seems that the scribe may have been making some attempt to ensure that the Interpolations fitted linguistically as well as structurally into their context.

Although the same scribe as that who copied the annals up to 1121 is also probably responsible for the writing of the First Continuation annals, clear changes in the appearance of the script indicate that these later annals were added at various different times. The changes in script and ink allow the following copying stints to be identified: (i) 1122; (ii) 1123; (iii) 1124; (iv) 1125–26 (at fol. 85<sup>v</sup>, line 7); (v) 1126 (from fol. 85<sup>v</sup>, line 7)–1127; (vi) 1128–31. The question of how far these annals can be seen to represent independent composition and how far they are drawing on existing material is an intriguing one and deserves further exploration than it has attracted hitherto.

The break between the annals up to 1121 and the annals of the First Continuation is generally seen as marking a change in style and manner as well. As Cecily Clark writes, ‘Whereas the annals for the previous decade had been terse, those from 1122 onwards are full and lively’. Indeed, she continues, ‘all the annals from 1122 to 1131 read like the work of one man’.<sup>25</sup> Although they are undoubtedly full and lively, the First Continuation annals also show a variety of tone and style which needs to be fully acknowledged. The way that the annalist interweaves material of more general interest with material which is more closely related to Peterborough may suggest that his method for producing these annals is not so very different from that for the annals up to 1121, where Peterborough records are interpolated into pre-existing material.

There are curiously few indications in the earlier First Continuation entries of their Peterborough origin. The entry for 1122 has no reference to Peterborough, focusing rather on events in and around Gloucester, and also Canterbury. The entry for 1123 records Abbot Henry of Angély’s defence of monastic against clerical interests; although Henry will play a prominent role in later entries, it is clearly not any later connection to Peterborough which explains his part here. This lengthy entry records many events, none of which pertains to Peterborough. The first

<sup>24</sup> So, for example, the late Old English unrounding of *y* to *i*, which first appeared clearly in the north-east Midlands and the north, is attested in the spellings of the entries up to 1121, but is more frequently represented in the spellings of the Peterborough Interpolations, and more frequently still in the First Continuation (Irvine, *MS E*, pp. cx–cxiv).

<sup>25</sup> Clark, *PC*, p. xxv.

reference to Peterborough in the First Continuation is in the entry for 1124, where the death of Bishop Ernulf is announced: 'On þes ilces geares forðferde se eadig biscop Ernulf of Roueceastre se æror wæs abbot on Burch; þet wæs þes dæies idus Martii.'<sup>26</sup> This is noteworthy for several reasons. First, Ernulf has already been mentioned in the First Continuation: he is named in the previous entry (for 1123) as one of those who consecrated William of Corbeil.<sup>27</sup> There, however, no mention of his earlier role as Abbot of Peterborough is made. Second, the phrase *se æror wæs abbot on Burch* has the character of a marginal annotation. Its placement in the sentence before the date suggests that it might represent an interpolation. This is particularly evident when we compare the subsequent record: '7 þæræfter forðferde se king Alexander of Scotlande on þes dæies .ix. kalendas Mai.'<sup>28</sup> The structural difference between the two records might indicate that the mention of Ernulf's abbacy at Peterborough derived at some stage from a marginal annotation.

The substantial entry for 1125 also includes only one reference to Peterborough, this time as the final record of the entry: '7 þes ilces geares forðferde se abbot Iohan of Burch on .ii. idus Octobris.'<sup>29</sup> Again this has the character of an interpolation: one might compare, for example, the interpolation at the end of the entry for 1041, with its record of the death of Ælfsige, abbot of Peterborough, and election of Arnwi, and, even more compellingly, that for 1069, with its record of Abbot Brand's death. The final record for 1125, like those for 1041 and 1069, may represent a Peterborough addition to the end of an entry which otherwise has a quite different origin. This hypothesis may be supported by the evidence of the manuscript. The last few words of the entry for 1125 ('of Burch on .ii. idus Octobris'), and the date of the next entry for 1126 and its opening ('Eall þis gear wæs se kyng') have been inserted in paler ink over an erasure and run into the left hand margin over two lines (fol. 84<sup>v</sup>, line 26) (Figure 1). The difference in ink colour seems to suggest that the change was made after the entry was first copied, probably when the next stint of copying began some way into the entry for 1126 (fol. 85<sup>i</sup>, line 7). The exact process of the emendation here is not easy to determine, and more than one explanation is possible. The reference to Peterborough and the date

<sup>26</sup> Irvine, *MS E*, p. 125. 'In this same year the blessed Bishop Ernulf of Rochester died, he who was previously Abbot of Peterborough; that happened on 15 March.'

<sup>27</sup> Irvine, *MS E*, p. 123.

<sup>28</sup> Irvine, *MS E*, p. 125. 'And after that King Alexander of Scotland died on 23 April'.

<sup>29</sup> Irvine, *MS E*, p. 127. 'And in this same year Abbot John of Peterborough died on 14 October'.

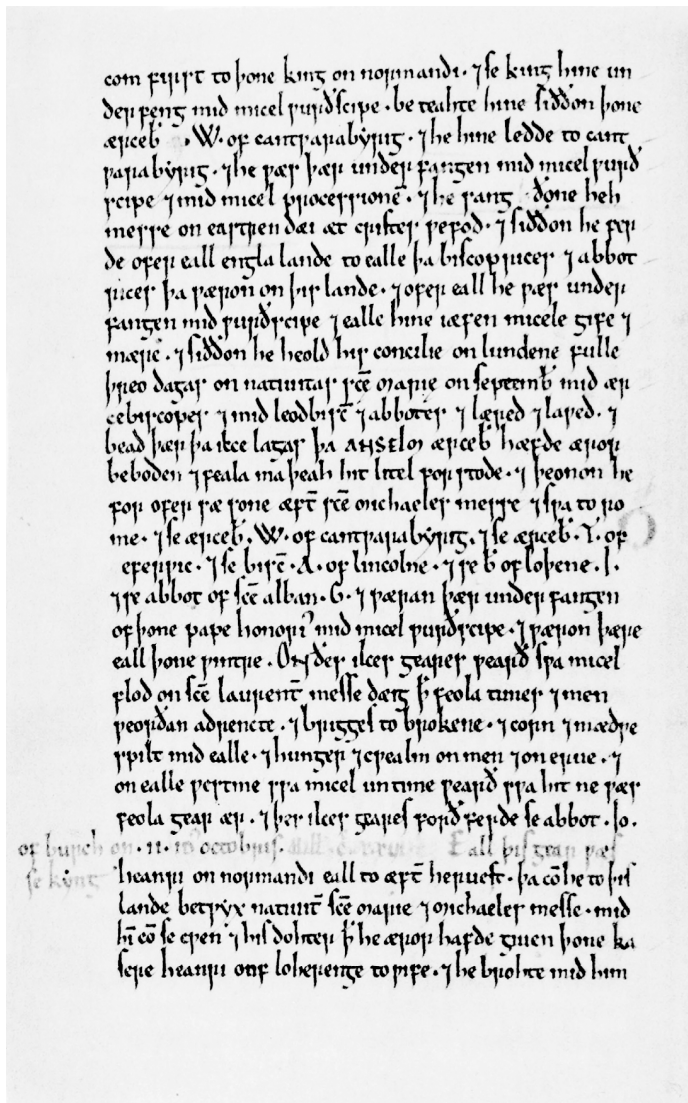


Figure 1. The end of the annal for 1125 and opening of that for 1126 in the Peterborough Chronicle. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 636, fol. 84<sup>v</sup>.

By permission of the Bodleian Library.

of John's death may be a later addition to the entry, which necessitated the rewriting of the original manuscript line. The scribe, having inadvertently filled a space which he had originally left for the date of the next entry with a Peterborough addition, then perhaps found himself obliged to rewrite the line to make space for this date. Alternatively the scribe may have written the record of John's death immediately after copying the previous material, but then carried straight on to the new entry without leaving space for the new date, particularly plausible, perhaps, if he had been distracted by the process of incorporating a marginal annotation relating to Peterborough. Later, realizing his mistake, the scribe rewrote the line to insert the date for the 1126 entry.

Whatever the exact process by which the emendation was made, it is clear that the scribe has had to fit in more material than was originally intended for this space. The scribe's normal procedure for the beginning of a new entry has had to be adjusted: here the scribe has sandwiched the date into the middle of a line, rather than starting with a new line and large initial which from the entry for 1124 onwards became his usual way of indicating a new annal.<sup>30</sup> In keeping with the shortage of space, a more truncated abbreviation than usual for *Millesimo* has been used.<sup>31</sup> It is also clear that it is the insertion of material relating to Peterborough which has affected the scribe's normal procedure here. This looks like a Peterborough Interpolation in a part of the Chronicle which is generally thought to derive from Peterborough. It is surprising, to say the least, to find one of the rare allusions to Peterborough in the early entries of the First Continuation looking very much as though it were actually an interpolation.

The entry for 1126 contains no information pertaining to Peterborough. The entry for 1127 is the first of these annals to contain a substantial Peterborough record. Whereas the first third of the entry continues to report events of more general interest, its last two-thirds present a colourful account of the arrival of Henry of Angély at Peterborough and his disgraceful behaviour towards the monastery. That the two types of material are quite independent of one another points to the use of different sources. The next entry, that for 1128, begins by recording material of general interest, then provides an update on Abbot Henry's movements, and returns at its close to material of more general interest. Again the

<sup>30</sup> The only exception is the beginning of the entry for 1129, where the scribe puts both date and initial.

<sup>31</sup> The only time when the scribe uses an even shorter abbreviation is in the entry for 1130, where space is again at a premium; see Irvine, *MS E*, p. 131, and *The Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. by Whitelock, fol. 87<sup>v</sup>.

different types of material are independent of one another and might have resulted from compilation of various sources. No material relating to Peterborough is found in the entry for 1129. The entries for 1130 and 1131 both begin with records of general interest, before closing with substantial accounts of Abbot Henry's heinous activities.

If the annalist were compiling his First Continuation entries from a variety of sources, what kinds of sources might these have been? Clearly, since the entries themselves have been produced at different times, a number of different sources are likely to have been consulted. For the Peterborough material, an important analogue exists in the form of a mid-twelfth-century Latin chronicle of Peterborough Abbey written by Hugh Candidus, probably during the abbacy of William of Waterville (1155–75).<sup>32</sup> The close parallels between Hugh's work and the Peterborough Chronicle suggest that they may have been directly linked and, if so, their dates of composition would indicate that Hugh has drawn on the Chronicle rather than the other way round.<sup>33</sup> Since Hugh's focus is very much Peterborough Abbey itself, it is perfectly plausible that he selected the relevant passages from the Chronicle and translated them into Latin for his own account. It cannot be ruled out, however, that both Hugh and the Peterborough annalist drew on a pre-existing history of Peterborough Abbey, whether in Latin or the vernacular, for their shared material. This would explain why the two are not as close as one might expect in some entries (in 1128, for example), and why Hugh occasionally includes details not found in the Chronicle (though these are mainly restricted to the Final Continuation entries, which are closer to Hugh's own time). It would also fit with the Peterborough compiler's working methods for the material up to 1121, where he seems to have moved easily between his Anglo-Saxon Chronicle exemplar and other sources.

For the non-Peterborough material, one Latin chronicle provides an important basis of comparison with the Peterborough Chronicle, in particular for the last two blocks of annals. This is the *Chronicle* of John of Worcester, compiled at Worcester in the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>34</sup> A relationship between these two chronicles was suggested by Dorothy Whitelock, who noted that in the entry for 1130 John of Worcester's account of the dedication of the new church at Canterbury

<sup>32</sup> *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, a Monk of Peterborough*, ed. by W. T. Mellows (Oxford, 1949).

<sup>33</sup> Clark, *PC*, p. xxvii.

<sup>34</sup> *John of Worcester*, III.

and the burning of Rochester four days later is ‘couched in terms so similar to those in E as to make independent origin impossible’.<sup>35</sup> But the relationship is much more extensive than this one entry. Several other entries in the later part of the First Continuation show almost verbatim correspondences with John of Worcester’s *Chronicle*; others show significant parallels of a different kind. Consider, for example, the following record appearing in the Peterborough Chronicle’s entry for 1127, beside John’s equivalent entry:

PC Ðes ilces gæres on þone lententide wæs se eorl Karle of Flandres ofslagen on ane circe þær he læi 7 bæd hine to Gode tofor þone weofede among þane messe fram his agene manne. 7 se kyng of France brohte þone eorles sunu Willelm of Normandi 7 iæf hine þone eorldom, 7 þet landfolc him wið toc.<sup>36</sup>

JW Comes Flandrensis Karolus prima ebdomada .xl. in ecclesia sancti Donatii in oratione positus a suis iniuste perimitur. Cuius suscepit comitatum Willelmus filius Rodberti comitis Normannorum cum maximo fauore multorum populorum.<sup>37</sup>

Here, despite the occasional independent detail in each, the two accounts are so similar that they almost certainly drew on a shared source. The Peterborough Chronicle’s entry for 1128 again corresponds closely to John’s *Chronicle*:

PC Eall þis geare was se kyng Heanri on Normandi for þone unfrið þet wæs betweenen him 7 his nefe ðone eorl of Flandres. Oc se eorl wearð gewundod at an gefiht fram anne swein, 7 swa gewundod he for to Sancte Berhtines minstre 7 sone þear wearð munec 7 liuode siððon fif dagas, 7 he wearð þa dæd 7 þær bebyriged — God geare his sawle! — þet wæs ðes daies .vi. kalendas Augusti.<sup>38</sup>

JW Rex Anglorum Henricus mare transiit, Normanniam adiit, et contra nepotem suum predictum Willelmum comitem Flandrensem magnum conflictum iniit [. . .] Comes

<sup>35</sup> *The Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 32.

<sup>36</sup> Irvine, *MSE*, p. 128. ‘In this same year in spring Charles, count of Flanders, was killed by his own men in a church as he lay and prayed to God before the altar during mass. And the King of France brought William, son of the Count of Normandy, and gave him the county, and the inhabitants accepted him.’

<sup>37</sup> *John of Worcester*, III, 172; trans. p. 173: ‘In the first week of Lent [16–22 February], Charles, count of Flanders, was unjustly slain by his men as he was praying at the church of St Donatian. William, son of Robert, duke of the Normans, received the Flemish county with the full approval of many people.’

<sup>38</sup> Irvine, *MSE*, p. 129. ‘All this year King Henry was in Normandy because of the friction that existed between him and his nephew the Count of Flanders. But the Count was wounded by a retainer in a fight. And in his wounded state he retired to St Bertin’s monastery and became a monk there and lived for five days afterwards. And he then died and was buried there. God have mercy on his soul. That happened on 27 July.’

Flandrensiū Willēlmus nomine, Miser cognomine, ab hostibus circumuentus uulneratur, et ingrauescente dolore, morte cunctis dolenda, vi. kal. Aug. defungitur et apud sanctum Bertinum sepelitur.<sup>39</sup>

Though less close to each other than some other corresponding passages, and despite separation of the two parts in John's *Chronicle*, the two accounts are nevertheless unlikely to be entirely independent. Further significant parallels are found between the Peterborough Chronicle's entry for 1129 and John of Worcester's *Chronicle*:

PC Ðis ilces geares forðferde se biscop Willelm Giffard of Winceastre 7 þear bebyriged on .viii. kalendas Februarii; 7 se kyng Henri geaf þone biscoprice æfter Micheles messe þone abbot Henri his nefe of Glastingbyri, 7 he wæs gehalgod to biscop fram þone ærcebiscop Willelm of Cantwarabyri þes dæies .xv. kalendas Decembris.<sup>40</sup>

JW Willēlmus Wintoniensis episcopus .viii. kal. Feb. defunctus Wintonie sepelitur [. . .] Henricus Glæstoniensis abbas nepos regis Henrici ad episcopatum Wintoniensis ecclesie mense Octobri electus, Wintonie a Willelmo Cantuariense archipresule .xv. kal. Dec., die dominico, consecratur episcopus.<sup>41</sup>

In the Peterborough Chronicle entry for 1129, this record is immediately followed by an account of Pope Honorius's death and the subsequent schism;<sup>42</sup> this is also reported, though with less detail, by John of Worcester.<sup>43</sup> Perhaps the most puzzling parallel of all between the two chronicles, though not by any means the closest verbally, is the report of the strange phenomena appearing in the sky in 1131 which appears in both works. John of Worcester provides a long detailed

<sup>39</sup> *John of Worcester*, III, 172 and 186: trans. pp. 173 and 187: 'The English king Henry crossed overseas, went to Normandy, and fought fiercely with his nephew, the said William, count of Flanders. [. . .] William, known as the lesser, count of Flanders, was ambushed by his enemies and wounded. His pains grew worse, and he died a universally regretted death on 27 July, and was buried at St Bertin.'

<sup>40</sup> Irvine, *MS E*, p. 131. 'In this same year William Giffard, bishop of Winchester, died and was buried there on 25 January, and King Henry gave the bishopric after Michaelmas to his nephew Henry, abbot of Glastonbury. And he was consecrated bishop by William, archbishop of Canterbury, on 17 November.'

<sup>41</sup> *John of Worcester*, III, 186, 188; trans. pp. 187, 189: 'Bishop William of Winchester died on 25 January and was buried at Winchester. [. . .] Henry, abbot of Glastonbury, King Henry's nephew, was chosen in October to the see of Winchester and was consecrated bishop at Winchester by William, archbishop of Canterbury, on Sunday, 17 November.'

<sup>42</sup> Irvine, *MS E*, p. 131.

<sup>43</sup> *John of Worcester*, III, 188.

account of a set of phenomena which occurred on 17 February.<sup>44</sup> The Peterborough Chronicle offers a curiously similar, if rather more succinct, account of a phenomenon which occurred on 11 January:

Dis gear æfter Cristesmesse on an Moneniht æt þe forme slæp wæs se heouene o ðe norð  
half eall swilc hit wære bærnende fir, swa þet ealle ðe hit sægon wæron swa offæred swa hi  
næfre ær ne wæron; þet wæs on .iiii. idus Ianuarii.<sup>45</sup>

The strange light in the sky, whose colour is compared by John of Worcester to a *lucide flamme* (bright flame), is described by the Peterborough compiler as being like a *bærnende fir*, and the fear it induces in its observers, which is twice mentioned by John of Worcester ('non sine metu [...] cernebatur; pro pauore'), also features in the Peterborough Chronicle account: 'ealle ðe hit sægon wæron swa offæred swa hi næfre ær ne wæron'. Although the two accounts are very different in length and in the amount of detail included, and are even attributed to different days, the salient features of each are remarkably similar.

What is important here is not so much the details of the correspondences between the two works but the fact that a close relationship between them is maintained over a number of annals. If we accept that the evidence for the relationship between these two chronicles is too compelling to be coincidental, what are the implications of that for the writing of the Peterborough Chronicle? The exact nature of the relationship is not easy to establish. It is possible that John drew directly on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and indeed we know that he did so for records before 1122; he seems to have used a version of the Chronicle closer to D than to E up to at least 1067, and then on an archetype of E — but not E itself — for annals after that.<sup>46</sup> But for the annals from 1122 onwards, as for the earlier annals, it seems very unlikely that John drew on E directly. John includes none of the Peterborough anecdotes concerning Abbot Henry of Angély which are probably the work of the Peterborough annalist. Either John was drawing on vernacular annals for the period after 1121, in which case he may in part at least have shared this source with the Peterborough compiler, or both writers were drawing on a different kind of shared source, perhaps sets of Latin annals.

<sup>44</sup> *John of Worcester*, III, 198.

<sup>45</sup> Irvine, *MS E*, p. 132. 'This year after Christmas, on a Sunday evening at first sleep, the sky in the north appeared as if it were a burning fire, so that all who saw it were more afraid than they had ever been before; that happened on 11 January.'

<sup>46</sup> See Earle and Plummer, II, p. lxxxv, and *The Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. by Whitelock, pp. 30–31.

What evidence do we have that vernacular annals for the period after 1121 (other than the Peterborough Chronicle itself) might have been available to John of Worcester and indeed to the Peterborough Chronicle compiler? Again it is Latin chronicles to which we need to turn for evidence. The first type of evidence they offer is textual. Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, as its editor Diana Greenway points out, includes errors which suggest misreading of vernacular letters,<sup>47</sup> and these occur in records of events after 1121 as well as before. In Book VII, Chapter 35, for example, in recording the death of Theulf, bishop of Worcester, in 1124, the word *Pigorniensis* is written for *Wigorniensis* (of Worcester): here the Anglo-Saxon *wynn* has clearly been misread as 'p'.<sup>48</sup> Although the connections between the Peterborough Chronicle and Henry's work after 1122 tend to be more general than before 1122, textual evidence seems to suggest that Henry may have had access to an Anglo-Saxon chronicle for the later period. The second type of evidence is circumstantial. One of the distinctive features of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is its regular recording of the king's cross-channel journeys and of meetings of the royal court. In the annals after 1122, both Henry of Huntingdon and John of Worcester consistently record these where other Latin chroniclers show little interest in them. It has been argued by Diana Greenway, in relation to Henry of Huntingdon's history, and by P. McGurk, in relation to John of Worcester's *Chronicle*, that the presence of such records in these Latin chronicles points to their authors' knowledge of an Anglo-Saxon chronicle.<sup>49</sup> Moreover specific records in the Latin chronicles overlap with those in the Peterborough Chronicle, as the following examples of records of meetings of the royal court show:

1122 PC On þis geare wæs se king Heanri on Cristesmæssan on Norhtwic, 7 on Pasches he weas on Northamtune.<sup>50</sup>

HH Henricu rex anno sequenti fuit ad Natale apud Nordwic, et ad Pascha apud Nordhamtune.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *Henry of Huntingdon*, pp. xcvi–xcvii.

<sup>48</sup> *Henry of Huntingdon*, p. 472.

<sup>49</sup> *Henry of Huntingdon*, p. xcii, and *John of Worcester*, III, p. xxiii.

<sup>50</sup> Irvine, *MS E*, p. 121. 'In this year King Henry was in Norwich at Christmas, and at Northampton at Easter.'

<sup>51</sup> *Henry of Huntingdon*, p. 468. 'In the following year King Henry was at Norwich at Christmas, and at Northampton at Easter.'

1123 PC On þyssum geare wæs se king Henri on Cristestyde at Dunestaple [...] 7 þeonen he ferde to Wudestoke.<sup>52</sup>

HH Anno uero huic proximo, fuit rex ad Natale apud Dunstaple [...] Inde iuit rex ad Wdestoc.<sup>53</sup>

1127 PC Ðis gear heald se kyng Heanri his hird æt Cristesmæsse on Windlesoure.<sup>54</sup>

HH Anno sequenti, rex curiam tenuit ad Natale apud Windlesores.<sup>55</sup>

JW Rex Anglorum Heinricus [...] in Natiuitate Domini curiam suam in castro quod Windleshora uocatur diuini apparatu celebrauit.<sup>56</sup>

The shared inclination to record meetings of the royal court is, of course, far from conclusive as evidence of knowledge of an Anglo-Saxon chronicle; after all, as I point out in my edition of the Peterborough Chronicle, Henry ‘records other royal meetings which are not recorded in the Chronicle and for which Henry is the only known source’.<sup>57</sup> It is possible, however, that the Peterborough compiler and the Latin compilers are drawing on different versions of vernacular annals, or alternatively have made different selections of material depending on their interests and other sources.<sup>58</sup>

The Latin chronicles which are closest to the Peterborough Chronicle do give some indications that an Anglo-Saxon chronicle, which was not the Peterborough Chronicle itself, may have been available to them. Given these indications, the parallels between John of Worcester’s *Chronicle* and the Peterborough Chronicle may point to the contents of a shared Anglo-Saxon chronicle source. Could the First Continuation annals, like the annals copied up to 1121, represent a conflation of sets of vernacular annals containing material of general interest, with

<sup>52</sup> Irvine, *MS E*, p. 122. ‘In this year King Henry was at Dunstable at Christmas [...] and from there he travelled to Woodstock.’

<sup>53</sup> *Henry of Huntingdon*, pp. 468–70. ‘In the next year the King was at Dunstable at Christmas. [...] From there the King travelled to Woodstock.’

<sup>54</sup> Irvine, *MS E*, p. 127. ‘In this year King Henry held his court at Christmas in Windsor.’

<sup>55</sup> *Henry of Huntingdon*, p. 476. ‘In the following year, the King held his court at Christmas in Windsor.’

<sup>56</sup> *John of Worcester*, III, 164–66; trans. p. 165: ‘Henry, king of the English [...] held his court at Christmas with great magnificence at Windsor castle.’

<sup>57</sup> Irvine, *MS E*, p. lxxxvi.

<sup>58</sup> For further discussion of the records of the King’s whereabouts, see Home, ‘Double-Edged Déjà Vu’, pp. 77–79.

other material relating to Peterborough interpolated by the compiler? Although we might expect to find linguistic evidence of a distinction between copied and interpolated material, such as we see in the annals up to 1121, the more contemporary composition of the material of general interest, combined with the scribe's increasing confidence in adapting it, could explain any lack of linguistic distinctiveness between material of different origins. If the Peterborough compiler did draw on pre-existing annals, they must have been received in small batches, more or less as they became available. As with the entries from 1080 to 1121, it is tempting to speculate that Canterbury played some part in the circulation, if not the origin, of this material, given the Canterbury connections of both Peterborough and Worcester.<sup>59</sup> For the Latin chroniclers like John of Worcester and Henry of Huntingdon, the vernacular annals must have been a minor source, given the differences between their chronicles and the First Continuation entries.

Evidence for chronicle writing in the vernacular outside Peterborough remains uncertain. This essay has argued that the First Continuation annals were constructed by combining material from a number of different sources, at least some of which may have been in English. The working methods of the compiler for the entries of the First Continuation are perhaps not so very different from those for the entries of up to 1121, which entailed the conflation of Peterborough and non-Peterborough records. The evidence offered both by the manuscript of the Peterborough Chronicle and by this work's relationship with other Latin chronicles would suggest that Martin Brett's notion of 'an active traffic' in historical materials between Canterbury, Malmesbury, and Worcester in the 1120s and 1130s can with confidence be widened to include other centres such as Peterborough.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Ernulf, who became Bishop of Rochester in 1114, had formerly been Abbot of Peterborough (1107–14) and Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, before that, and Prior Nicholas of Worcester (1113–24) also had links with Canterbury; on the friendship of Nicholas and Eadmer of Canterbury, for example, see D. L. Bethell, 'English Black Monks and Episcopal Elections in the 1120s', *EHR*, 84 (1969), 673–98.

<sup>60</sup> Martin Brett, 'John of Worcester and his Contemporaries', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. by R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford, 1981), pp. 101–26.

## DOUBLE-EDGED DÉJÀ VU: THE COMPLEXITY OF THE PETERBOROUGH CHRONICLE

Malasree Home

In or around 1121, a version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle reached Peterborough Abbey, where it was extensively modified and rewritten. The exact motivation for this has never been made explicit, though it seems quite reasonable and logical to suppose that the fire of 1116 prompted a spate of text production and reorganization at the abbey. The Chronicle before its Peterborough stage seems to have consisted of a version of the Northern Recension with its standard Preface and additions, annals 1023–61, which were written at St Augustine's, Canterbury, and annals 1062–1121 (these remain unlocalized, and may or may not have originated at Canterbury).<sup>1</sup> The Chronicle till 1061 (containing the St Augustine's annals) was certainly accessed (and modified) by the compiler of the F version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle at Christ Church, Canterbury, though we have no way of verifying a similar editorial intervention by the F-compiler for the next block (1062–1121), as the manuscript of the F-text ends mutilated in 1058. This composite Chronicle version (Northern Recension, annals 1023–61, and annals 1062–1121), which forms the basis of the Peterborough Chronicle, is referred to in this paper as the 'proto-E' (√E) version or the 'received text'.

At Peterborough, before the Chronicle was continued further, new text portions of local origin were meshed in with the proto-E-text.<sup>2</sup> In terms of manuscript

<sup>1</sup> Cecily Clark notes 'a slight Westminster (or London) bias' in these annals; see Clark, *PC*, pp. xxii–xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> The Interpolations made at Peterborough occur at the following annal entries: 654, 656, 675, 686, 777, 852, 870, 963, 1013, 1041, 1052, 1066, 1069, 1070, 1102, 1103, 1107, 1114, 1115, and 1116.

production, these Interpolations were made to seem an integral part of the received text rather than additions made later, the Chronicle being written as a single scribal unit until 1121. The process of appropriating the received Chronicle version as a 'Peterborough' text did not stop there, and it was further continued at twelfth-century Peterborough in two phases. It is generally agreed that the First Continuation, covering a period of ten years, 1122 to 1131, was probably compiled contemporaneously with the events narrated, as evidenced by the presence of 'scribal blocks'.<sup>3</sup> The Second Continuation seems to have been written soon after the death of King Stephen in 1154.<sup>4</sup> Itself based on a Chronicle text with many layers of compilation and editorial intervention, the E-text at Peterborough further demonstrates a multilayered text construction, where earlier and later narratives coexist simultaneously. Composed at a time and place removed from the proto-E version, these later Peterborough Continuations are narratives in their own right. However, though new in terms of their contents, they had to be integrated into the received text for the whole to be conceived of as a coherent unit. At the very least, this called for a degree of formal correspondence between the new and pre-existing elements.<sup>5</sup> This paper goes beyond the formal structuring of annals to analyse the tension between composition and compilation. It demonstrates the way in which the twelfth-century construction of the Peterborough Chronicle shows not just an awareness of a continuing textual tradition, but also consciously attempts to rework the chronicle to draw attention to Peterborough interests.

This study starts by considering the exclamatory statements in the E-text, and moves on from there to a survey of the style and content of the part of the

<sup>3</sup> These scribal stints are as follows: (i) 1122, (ii) 1123, (iii) 1124, (iv) 1125–26 *lande*, fol. 85a, line 7, (v) 1126 *On þes ilces geares* – 1127, (vi) 1128–31. See Irvine, *MS E*, pp. xviii–xxii for a description of this scribal hand. Also refer to Ker, p. 425, no. 346; *The Peterborough Chronicle (The Bodleian Manuscript Laud Misc. 636)*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, EEMF, 4 (Copenhagen, 1954), p. 14; Clark, *PC*, p. xxv; and Susan Irvine, 'The Production of the Peterborough Chronicle', this volume.

<sup>4</sup> The description of the Anarchy *s.a.* 1137 emphasizes that it was an event that had occurred nineteen years earlier.

<sup>5</sup> For example, both Peterborough Continuations adhere to the annal format. The Second Peterborough Continuation, however, though structuring its narrative according to annal number, seems to be more inclined towards a thematic ordering of events. See Clark, *PC*, pp. xxv–xxvi, for an arrangement of the annals according to topic, and Malasree Home, 'The Peterborough Chronicle and the Writing of History in the Twelfth Century' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2005), pp. 161–88, for a discussion of the writing of this part of the Peterborough Chronicle.

Chronicle written at Peterborough. It will also examine the format and structure of the proto-E and the Interpolations and Continuations, with particular emphasis on the way notices of the court act as a structural link between these two sections. The main focus of this study will be on the Peterborough Interpolations and the First Continuation. Though the Second Peterborough Continuation will be mentioned in comparison, a detailed exploration of this final part of the Peterborough Chronicle remains beyond the scope of this paper. Based on the stylistic, rhetorical, and formal analysis, the study then draws conclusions regarding the way in which the E-text was constructed at twelfth-century Peterborough.

The First Continuation, with its extensive coverage of ecclesiastical affairs, and in particular the worsening condition of Peterborough Abbey, tends to use an increasingly informal tone. The chronicler's growing cynicism regarding the affairs that he records results in a directness of tone and idiom. He is apt to use proverb-like statements: 'Hæge sitteð þa aceres dæleth!'<sup>6</sup> he remarks in 1130 regarding Abbot Henry's plan to make Peterborough subservient to Cluny. The annal relates times of famine, scarcity, and crop failure, which are juxtaposed with the narrative of Abbot Henry's manoeuvrings. Such disasters, which frequently recur in this section of the narrative, are all noted in direct layman's terms, and the use of language relating to market transactions makes the narrative voice realistic, even pragmatic. In 1124, for example, where the chronicler notes the failures of crops, he dwells in detail on the resulting rise in the prices of crops and produce:

Des ilces geares wæron fæla untim on Englelande on corne 7 on ealle westme, swa þet betweenen Cristesmesse 7 Candelmesse man sælde þet acer sædhwæte, þet is twegen sedlæpas, to six scillingas, 7 þet bærlic, þet is þre sedlæpas, to six scillingas, 7 þet acer sædaten, þet \is/ feower sedlæpas, to feower scillingas. Þet wæs forþi þet corn wæs litel, 7 se penig wæs swa ifel þet se man þa hæfde at an market an pund, he ne mihte cysten þærof for nan þing twelfe penegas.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> '[The/A] hedge abides [even] when [it] divides fields.' However, there are no extant examples of this proverb, if it is indeed one. Quotations from the Chronicle are from Irvine, *MS E*; all translations of Old English are my own.

<sup>7</sup> 'In the same year there were great misfortunes in England in corn and in all crops, so that, between Christmas and Candlemas, one sold an acre of seed-wheat, that is two sowers' baskets, for six shillings, and the barley, that is three sowers' baskets, for six shillings, and an acre of seed-oats, that is four sowers' baskets, for four shillings. That was because the corn was so scarce and the penny was so bad that the man who had a pound at the market could not buy anything for twelve pennies from there.'

This theme of scarcity and economic crisis is continued in annal 1125, which narrates what seems to be an act of scapegoating (the mutilation of the moneyers by royal order, presumably because they were considered responsible for the current economic situation),<sup>8</sup> and part of the phrasing is almost exactly echoed.<sup>9</sup> Such accounts of worsening times are also accompanied by a plethora of exclamatory statements, more or less similarly phrased, which accelerate with the coming of Henry of St Angély to Peterborough. The advent of this new continental abbot is considered by the First Continuator to be one of the biggest crisis points in Peterborough history, of far greater magnitude than the earlier crises faced by the abbey.<sup>10</sup>

Abbot Henry first makes his appearance in annal 1123, though, ironically, at this stage he is portrayed as a protector of monastic interests, trying to persuade the king to choose a bishop according to canon law as it was not seemly that a clerk (i.e. William of Corbeil) should be set above monks. We may note here that this is the only time that Henry of St Angély is portrayed in a positive light, and this is neither changed nor annotated in the light of Henry's future conduct. Abbot Henry had acquired Peterborough Abbey after a long line of continental acquisitions and, for some time, held it simultaneously with the abbacy of St Angély by convincing the king that he was an 'eald man 7 forbroken man' who was tired of injustice.<sup>11</sup> This is not the place to consider the strategies used by the Peterborough chronicler to re-create Abbot Henry's convoluted arguments and persuasions, but it should be mentioned that annals 1126–31 (which cover the coming of Abbot Henry and his final expulsion from the abbacy of St Angély) are amongst the most charged in the

<sup>8</sup> The moneyers may have faced the serious charge of forgery or adulteration: '7 þet wæs eall mid micel rihte, forði þet hi hafden fordon eall þet land mid here *micele fals* þet hi ealle abohton' (s.a. 1125) (And that was all [done] rightly, because they had ruined all the land with their *great falsity/fraud*, which they all paid for). Emphasis mine. See Swanton, *ASC*, p. 255, n. 16.

<sup>9</sup> 'On þis gær [...] se king Henri [...] bebed þet man scolde beniman ealla þa minetere þe wæron on Engelande heora liman, þet wæs here elces riht hand 7 heora stanen beneðan; *þet wæs for se man ðe hafde an pund he ne mihte cysten ænne peni at anne market*' (In this year [...] King Henry [...] commanded that all the moneyers who were in England should be deprived of their limbs, that was the right hand of each and the stones below; [and] *that was because the man who had a pound could not buy a penny's [worth] at the market*). Emphasis mine.

<sup>10</sup> Refer, for example, to the Interpolation s.a. 1070E, where the monks of Peterborough prefer the coming of the Norman abbot Turol to Hereward's promises of freedom.

<sup>11</sup> 'an old man and a decrepit man'. For a consideration of Abbot Henry's career, see Cecily Clark, 'This Ecclesiastical Adventurer: Henry of Saint Jean d'Angély', *EHR*, 84 (1969), 548–60.

E-text and show most clearly the emergence of a distinctive narrative voice with an unusual use of language and imagery.

In annal 1127 the chronicler presents Henry of St Angély not as a protector but as a plunderer.

7 þær he wunede eallriht swa drane doð on hiue: eall þet þa beon dragen toward, swa frett þa drane 7 dragað froward. Swa dide he: eall þet he mihte tacen wiðinnen 7 wiðuten, of læred 7 of læwed, swa he sende ouer sæ; 7 na god þær ne dide ne na god ðær ne læuede.<sup>12</sup>

It is a vivid image which portrays this new abbot as both a parasite and a predator. The metaphor of the abbey as a gigantic hive where the parasitic drone-abbot feeds on the labours of the industrious inmates is intensified through a distinctive use of style and rhetorical manipulation. The use of alliteration and repetition (*drane . . . doð . . . dragen . . . drane . . . dragað; swa . . . sende . . . sæ*), as well as antithesis (*toward . . . froward; wiðinnen . . . wiðuten; læred . . . læwed*), conveys the depredation suffered by the abbey. In terms of style and rhetoric, and in particular in the use of verbs of taking away (*dragað froward; tacen; sende ouer sæ*), this account of legitimized ‘plunder’ by Abbot Henry is very similar to the account of an earlier plunder by Hereward, where the repetition of words denoting actions of climbing up and bringing down intensify the losses suffered by the abbey, implying simultaneously an act of overreaching on the rebels’ part and the abbey’s fall from grace.<sup>13</sup> Like the raid of Hereward, Henry’s actions leave Peterborough poorer both physically and spiritually (‘7 na god þær ne dide ne na god ðær ne læuede’).

This uncomplimentary assessment of Abbot Henry is further intensified through the clear associations that the annal makes between his coming to

<sup>12</sup> ‘And there he dwelled just as drones do in a hive, all that the bees bring inside, that the drone devours and draws outward. So did he: all that he was able to take, within and without, from learned and lay, he sent over the sea; and neither did any good there nor left anything good therein.’

<sup>13</sup> ‘Ac hi na rohten na þing [. . .] *clumben* upp to þe halge rode, *namen* þa þe kynehelm of ure Drih\ t/nes heafod [. . .] *namen* þa þet fotspure [. . .] *clumben* upp to þe stepel, *brohton dune* þet hæcce þe þær wæs behid, hit wæs eall of \gold/ 7 of seolfre. Hi *namen* þære twa gildene scrines 7 .ix. seolferne, 7 hi *namen* fifteen mycele roden, ge of golde ge of seolfre. Hi *namen* þære swa mycele gold 7 seolfre 7 swa manega gersumas on sceat 7 on scrud 7 on bokes swa nan man ne mæi oðer tællen’ (But they *did not care about* any thing, [. . .] *climbed up* to the holy rood, then *seized* the royal crown from our Lord’s head [. . .] then *seized* the foot rest [. . .] *climbed up* to the steeple, *brought down* the altar frontal that was concealed there, it was all of gold and silver. They *took from there* two golden shrines and nine [of] silver, and they *seized* fifteen great crosses, both of gold and silver. They *took away from there* so much gold and silver and so many treasures in garments and vestments and in books as no man may tell of any other [instance]). Emphases mine. For a detailed analysis, see Home, ‘Peterborough Chronicle’, pp. 101–07 and Appendix VI.

Peterborough and the Wild Hunt. Annal 1127 concludes with the narration of a strange incident: the sighting of huge, black, repulsive hunters and horn blowers in the woods around Peterborough. Such a description has sources and parallels in Germanic legend and folklore, and a similar incident is noted by Orderic Vitalis as occurring in Normandy in 1091. A certain priest of English origin, Walchelm (Gualchelm), comes across the Wild Host, to which he applies the term *familia Herlechini*, represented as a troupe of damned souls from Hell.<sup>14</sup> However, in this case, the event is narrated by the Peterborough chronicler as a specific local incident, consequent upon the arrival of Abbot Henry. The narrative ends with an ambivalent statement: ‘Dis was his ingang; of his utgang ne cunne we iett noht seggon.’<sup>15</sup> The antithetical balance renders the phrase ‘his utgang’ truly ambivalent, and may be either specific (referring to Abbot Henry’s exit) or a more general comment on the turn of affairs (its outcome). Perhaps the two are linked, for so strong is the sense of hostility towards this new abbot that his departure in itself implies a better outcome for Peterborough. At this point, however, the exact course of affairs remains unknown to the chronicler, for annal 1128 notes that Abbot Henry went back to his own abbey, persuading the king that he would give up his rights there as abbot. The chronicler exclaims in sorrow, ‘God ælmihtig haue his milce ofer þet wrecce stede!’<sup>16</sup>

The number of such exclamatory statements seems to escalate as the narrative progresses. The chronicler exclaims ‘Crist sette red for his wrecce folc!’<sup>17</sup> again in 1129, when he narrates the election of two popes in Rome. In annal 1130 the chronicler prays, ‘God ælmihtig adylege iuele ræde!’,<sup>18</sup> so that Peterborough may not be subject to Cluny through the wiles of Abbot Henry. The narrative of annal 1131 incorporates two exclamations. The first pertains to the general state of affairs: ‘God hit bete þa his wille beð!’,<sup>19</sup> the chronicler comments with respect to

<sup>14</sup> Malone notes that the origins of the word ‘Harlequin’ (*Herlechin* in Orderic) seem to be English; see Kemp Malone, ‘Herlekin and Herlewin’, in *Studies in Heroic Legend and in Current Speech*, ed. by S. Einarsson and N. E. Eliason (Copenhagen, 1959), pp. 193–96 (p. 196). The incident is noted in Chapter 17 of Book VIII of Orderic Vitalis; see *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. by M. Chibnall, 5 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1969–73; repr. 1983), IV, 240–45.

<sup>15</sup> ‘This was his entrance; of his exit/its outcome we cannot say yet.’

<sup>16</sup> ‘May Almighty God have compassion on that wretched place!’

<sup>17</sup> ‘May Christ establish counsel for his wretched people!’

<sup>18</sup> ‘May the God Almighty destroy evil counsels!’

<sup>19</sup> ‘May God better it as his will may be!’

the pestilence amongst crops and cattle. The second exclamation is the culmination of the narrative of Abbot Henry's departure from the abbacy of St Angély. Like the preceding narrative of Abbot Henry's tryst with Peterborough abbey, this section of the narrative shows remarkable stylistic and rhetorical control. As in the description of the plunder of the abbey by Hereward and his men *s.a.* 1070,<sup>20</sup> the decisive action of the monks of St Angély is conveyed through *asyndeton*, and the rapid succession of verbs (*cusen . . . brohten . . . sungen . . . ringden . . . setten . . . diden*) re-creates the drama of the event and culminates in Henry's expulsion: '7 þa muneces of þa mynstre flemden se oðer abbot Heanri ut \of/ þa mynstre'.<sup>21</sup> The speed of the narrative in this section of the annal is in stark contrast with the polysyndeton in the earlier part of the annal, which narrates how Abbot Henry persuaded the king that he would relinquish his abbatial rights over St Angély.<sup>22</sup> The chronicler also comments with some pleasure that, for once, Abbot Henry's wiliness was of no avail.

Her him trucode ealle his mycele cræftes; nu him behofed þet he crape in his mycele codde in ælc hyrne, gif þær wære hure an unwreste wrenc þet he mihte get beswicen anes Crist 7 eall Cristene folc.<sup>23</sup>

The metaphor is striking in its reduction of the Abbot. While the Peterborough chronicler never seems to have a high opinion of the Abbot, the use of the verb *crape* drastically reduces his stature and has an almost visual import. At the same time, the vividness of the narrative simultaneously conveys a sense of difference. The monks of St Angély had changed their destiny, but Peterborough's situation remained unchanged. At that point of time, with no immediate respite in sight, the

<sup>20</sup> See above, note 13.

<sup>21</sup> 'And the monks of the abbey expelled the other abbot, Henry, from that abbey.'

<sup>22</sup> 'Des ilces geares for se abbot Heanri toforen Eastren fram Burch ofer sæ to Normandi 7 þær spreac mid þone kyng 7 sæide him þet se abbot of Clunni hefde him beboden þet he scolde cumen to him 7 betæcen him þone abbotrice of Angeli, 7 siðþen he wolde cumen ham be his læfe; 7 swa he ferde him to his agen mynstre 7 þær wunode eall to midsummerdæi' (In the same year the abbot Henry journeyed before Easter from Peterborough over the sea into Normandy, and there spoke with the King and said to him that the Abbot of Cluny had commanded him that he should come to him [i.e. the King] and relinquish the abbacy of Angély to him, and by his leave after that, he would come home; and so he journeyed to his own monastery and stayed there right till Midsummer Day).

<sup>23</sup> 'Here all his great tricks deceived him, now it behoved him that he should creep into his great bag [of deceptions] in every corner, [to see] if there was at least one untrustworthy stratagem so that he might yet once more deceive Christ and all Christian people.'

chronicler can only pray for better times: 'Crist ræde for þa wrecce muneces of Burch 7 for þet wrecce \stede/ nu hem behofeð Cristes helpe 7 eall Cristenes folces.'<sup>24</sup>

While prayers and exclamations lend resonance and authenticity to the narrative voice of the First Peterborough Continuation, such rhetoric in the face of ravages inflicted by time and fortune on the abbey is not exclusive to the narrative of this part of the Peterborough Chronicle. Some of the interpolated annals also make use of such exclamatory statements, particularly when narrating the misfortunes suffered by the abbey. In fact, these exclamations and prayers are structurally similar to the ones used in the First Continuation. Annal 1066, for example, in recording the death of Abbot Leofric, concludes: 'Syððon comen ealle dræuednysse 7 ealle ifele to þone mynstre. God hit gemyltse!'<sup>25</sup> The account of the raid by Hereward and his men on Peterborough Abbey *s.a.* 1070 culminates in an exclamation of sorrow: 'Ðus wæs se mynstre of Burch forbærnd 7 forhærgod; ælmihtig God hit gemiltse þurh his mycele mildhertnesse!'<sup>26</sup> All of them make use of the usual prayer to 'God' or 'Crist' and use the same set of words and phrases: the adjective 'wrecce' freely appended to 'folc' or 'stede' or 'muneces'; various forms of the verb '(ge)miltsian' (to show mercy/compassion); and 'ræd' (counsel), 'milts/milce' (mercy/compassion), and 'ifel' (evil) in slightly differing combinations. In stark contrast to this use of heightened rhetoric in both the Peterborough Interpolations and the First Continuation, the Second Continuation shows remarkable restraint in the use of prayers and exclamations. Even the narrative of the Anarchy under Stephen, while detailed in its description of the horrors of that time, does not use any exclamatory sentences. Of course, it is easy to argue that much of the Second Peterborough Continuation was written in retrospect, long after the Anarchy had occurred, during the comparatively stable reign of Henry II. But then, on closer analysis, the same logic holds true for the earlier part of the Peterborough Chronicle.

The exclamations made by the First Continuator may seem appropriate and relevant given the difficult time that Peterborough was going through under the abbacy of the duplicitous Henry of St Angély. However, the same cannot be said for the exclamations in the narrative of the Interpolations. It should be emphasized

<sup>24</sup> 'May Christ take counsel for the wretched monks of Peterborough and for that wretched place, now Christ's help and that of all Christian people is needful for them.'

<sup>25</sup> 'Since then came all tribulation and all evil to the monastery. May God have mercy on it!'

<sup>26</sup> 'Thus was the monastery of Peterborough burned and plundered; may the almighty God show mercy through his great compassion!'

here that the Interpolations were actually written and copied at around the same time as the First Continuation and narrate their contents in retrospect. By 1121, Peterborough Abbey had obtained the proto-E Chronicle, and the Interpolations were made around that time. The entries of the First Continuation were written contemporaneously from 1122 to 1131. Therefore, though the interpolated annals and the narrative of the First Continuation are textually separated as distinct phases in the writing of the Peterborough Chronicle, they are not necessarily far apart in terms of their actual incorporation in the text. Now, while there may be much topical relevance in a prayer for Peterborough Abbey when there is no immediate prospect of Abbot Henry leaving his profitable new abbacy, there is hardly any logic in making vehement exclamations of sorrow when narrating an event that had occurred much earlier. As Clark aptly points out, the prayers and exclamations in the Interpolations seem excessive and out of place:

[I]n 1066 and 1070 [...] the exclamations [...] although very like the Continuator's prayers, hardly seem appropriate for work composed fifty years after the event.<sup>27</sup>

If the prayers and exclamations are indeed seen to be an indication of the annalist's actual involvement with the events narrated, Clark's observation is justified. However, it is precisely because they appear to be so that they may have had a different purpose altogether. Exclamatory statements and prayers are a conventional mode of implying authorial involvement in the narrative and suggest concerns which are topical and personal. I would like to suggest that these frequent exclamations serve as textual markers in the interpolated sections, drawing the reader's attention to the immediacy of the narrative. Particularly in the absence of actual immediacy, this spurious narrative involvement endeavours to hide the fact that the Interpolations were actually composed and written much later than the annal numbers under which they are inserted.

The exclamatory statements and heightened rhetoric therefore operate on two levels in the text. On the one hand they impart immediacy to the interpolated narrative and imply an eyewitness account of events long past.<sup>28</sup> The rhetoric thus functions as a gesture of difference, drawing attention to narrative involvement at a point of time in the text far removed from the perspective of the twelfth-century chronicler. On the other hand, the consistent and repeated use of structurally

<sup>27</sup> Clark, *PC*, p. lxxxiii.

<sup>28</sup> A comparable strategy is seen in the way charters have been incorporated in the Interpolations, *s.a.* 656E and 963E, where the bounds and exemptions are constructed as a royal speech act, so that the King seems to make the grant in person at a specific moment in time. See below, p. 81.

similar exclamations and prayers in the Interpolations and the First Continuation reinforces the structural and stylistic similarity between the text before 1121 (including the Peterborough Interpolations) and the text after 1121. This *déjà vu*, as I have called it in the title of this paper, is therefore necessarily ‘double-edged’. While, through narrative immediacy, the interpolated text is consciously associated with earlier annals (the received  $\sqrt{E}$ -text), the similar use of rhetorical technique also functions as a means of emphasizing continuity between the portions written later at Peterborough (the Interpolations and the First Continuation). The parallels in language and structure (especially the structurally similar prayers and exclamations) invite comparison of the way the earlier and later text portions of the Chronicle have been written. The preceding section has also drawn attention to the remarkable rhetorical and stylistic control in the narrative of Abbot Henry’s involvement with Peterborough and the stylistic similarities that it shares with the narratives of earlier disasters, specifically the raid of Hereward *s.a.* 1070. However, it will be necessary to touch upon other points of contact between the received Chronicle text and the portions written at Peterborough in order to explain the importance of such parallels in our assessment of the text as a whole.

The First Continuation maintains a rigid annal format. The annals are written down in blocks, and the end of a block usually coincides with the end of an annal.<sup>29</sup> Each annal notes the important events of the year in question, a strict use of the annal format that was in practice seldom adhered to scrupulously as various Chronicle versions got recopied and recompiled.<sup>30</sup> Some of the annals of the Common Stock frequently cover events of more than a year, or multiple regnal periods, an oft-quoted example being the account of Cynewulf and Cyneheard *s.a.* 755E.<sup>31</sup> Some of the charters incorporated in the Interpolations fit in the extended process of founding (or refounding) an abbey within the narrative space allotted to a single

<sup>29</sup> Clark, *PC*, p. xxv.

<sup>30</sup> For the use of the annal structure as a mode of historical representation, see Hayden White, ‘The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality’, in *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, 1987), pp. 1–25 (pp. 6–17).

<sup>31</sup> Another equally interesting (but not so frequently quoted) example of narrative digression is 616E, which notes the death of the Christian King Æthelberht of Kent, and the succession of his son who subsequently reverted back to heathenism. The annal narrates how Archbishop Laurentius decided to abandon his flock in Kent and move to Rome but was chastised by St Peter in a dream for evading his responsibilities. Ultimately the Archbishop succeeded in persuading the King of Kent to convert back to the Christian faith, all in the space of a single annal.

annal entry.<sup>32</sup> The only exception to the annal structure of the First Continuation is the noticeable break in 1126, a part of which is written as the next scribal block containing annal 1127. But even in this case, annal 1126, before being continued as part of the next scribal block, was certainly written after the year in question had passed, as the information is given that King David of Scotland stayed the whole year in England. It may therefore have been conceived as a complete entry for that year, before text was appended to it.

Almost all the annals of the First Continuation begin with an indication of the king's whereabouts that year. This is structurally similar to preceding annals in the Chronicle as, from 1091, most of the annals in the Peterborough Chronicle start with the notice of the king's court, and this forms the framework within which other events are noted. However, this consonance in form and structure hides a difference in provenance, as the annals from 1091 to 1121 were not written at Peterborough, but belong to the proto-E version. Most annals in the proto-E-text that commence by mentioning the king's whereabouts note further details about the king's political movements. For example, the entry for 1094 in the E-text mentions that William Rufus held his court at Gloucester during Christmas. It further narrates that it was to this court that Robert of Normandy sent an ambassador renouncing the covenant earlier sworn between them. The entry then notes the King's further movements and other political and ecclesiastical affairs as causal elements of the annal, where one event follows naturally from the other. A similar case for causal progression may be made for annals 1096, 1105, 1111, and 1114, which demonstrate the same pattern of starting the narrative by noting the king's whereabouts. At the same time, we can discern the beginnings of a convention in this pattern, particularly in the case of annal 1111, which opens its narrative by stating that the King did not hold his court that year:

*On þison geare ne bær se kyng Henri his coronan to Cristesmassan ne to Eastron ne to Pentecosten. 7 innan August he ferde ofer sæ into Normandig for unsehte þe wið him hæfdon sume be þam gemæran of France.*<sup>33</sup>

The First Continuation follows the structure of the proto-E annals by placing the notices of the royal court at the head of the narrative. In the first annal (1122),

<sup>32</sup> See for example, 656E (the grant of Wulfhere) and 963E (the grant of King Edgar), and below, pp. 80–82.

<sup>33</sup> 'In this year the king Henry did not wear his crown at Christmas, nor at Easter, nor at Pentecost. And in August he journeyed over the sea into Normandy because of the discord that some had with him on the borders of France.' Emphasis mine.

this convention holds strong, even though there is no apparent causal connection between the royal court (which was held in Norwich and Northampton that year) and the event which follows (the burning of Gloucester during the preceding Lent).<sup>34</sup> Annal 1123 begins by noting the King's presence at Dunstable during Christmas and goes on to dwell in greater detail on the sudden death of Bishop Robert Bloet of Lincoln:

On þyssum geare wæs se king Henri on Cristestyde at Dunesstaple, 7 þær comen þes eorles sanderman of Angeow to him. 7 þeonen he ferde to Wudestoke 7 his biscopes 7 his hird eal mid him. Ða tidde hit on an Wodnesdæi, þet wæs on .iii°. Idus Ianuarii, þet se king rad in his derfald, and se biscop Roger of Seresbyrig on an half him and se biscop Rotbert Bloet of Lincolne on oðer half him 7 riden þær s<pr>ecende. Ða aseh dune se biscop of Lincolne 7 seide to þam kyng: 'Laferd kyng, ic swelte.'<sup>35</sup>

The annal then goes on to note that the King called a new council to choose a new Archbishop of Canterbury, and that the subsequent choice was of a secular clerk, William of Corbeil.<sup>36</sup> However, at the core of the annal narrative is the moment when, on the verge of collapse, Robert Bloet announces his imminent death. In its re-creation of a narrative cameo, the rhetorical strategy of this annal bears strong resemblance to the decisive expulsion of Henry from the abbey of St Angély in the First Continuation, the swiftness of the raid of Hereward,<sup>37</sup> or the evocation of a dramatic moment in time in the grants of Wulfhere and Edgar in the Interpolations.<sup>38</sup>

The king's whereabouts are noted further in the First Continuation, at the head of annals 1124, 1125, 1126, 1127, and 1128. The information is implicit in annal 1129 (from Normandy, the King sends messengers to England and orders the

<sup>34</sup> 'On þis geare wæs se king Heanri on Cristesmassan on Norhtwic, 7 on Pasches he weas on Northamtune. 7 on þone lententyde þertofofen forbearn se burch on *Gleawecestre*' (In this year King Henry was in Norwich at Christmas, and in Easter he was in Northampton. *And during the previous spring/Lent, the town of Gloucester burnt down*). Emphasis mine.

<sup>35</sup> 'In this year the king Henry was at Dunstable during Christmas, and the ambassador of the Earl of Anjou came there to him. And then he journeyed to Woodstock, and his bishops and all his retinue [went] with him. Then it happened on a Wednesday (that was on the tenth of January), that the King was riding in his deer-park, and the Bishop Roger of Salisbury was on his one side, and the Bishop Robert Bloet of Lincoln on the other side, and they rode there speaking. Then the Bishop of Lincoln fell down and said to the King: "Lord king, I am dying."

<sup>36</sup> See below, pp. 81–82.

<sup>37</sup> See above, p. 71, n. 13.

<sup>38</sup> See below, pp. 80–81.

Count of Meulan and his brother-in-law to come to France at the start of the narrative), but is no longer noted at the start of the narrative in annals 1130 and 1131, perhaps because the king is still in Normandy and only returns to England before the harvest (noted *s.a.* 1131). Despite this consistent mention of the king's location, there is no definite indication of the source from which the First Continuator obtained information regarding the movements of the royal court. A case has been made by Irvine for a close association with sources shared by Latin chronicles, namely those by Henry of Huntingdon and John of Worcester.<sup>39</sup> Peterborough interest in the whereabouts of the king and his court may also be deduced from annals written in the margins of an Easter table (London, British Library, MS Harley 3667, fols 1<sup>v</sup>–2<sup>v</sup>), which not only makes note of the deaths of kings, queens, and church figures, but also notes the return of Henry I to England and the White Ship disaster.<sup>40</sup> While it is possible that the material for these annals may have been derived from multiple sources, what matters in this case is the way in which the information is ordered and the editorial decision to place it at the head of an annal. Indeed, this manipulation of source material is a compiler's prerogative, and it is the ordering of the material which reveals the compiler's unique cast of mind.<sup>41</sup> If derived from a number of sources, the chronicler of the First Continuation certainly shows a degree of skill in welding the disparate material into a coherent annal narrative. Further, the conscious decision to place the information regarding the royal court at the head of the narrative is a structural acknowledgement of the way the annals of the proto-E are constructed and ordered.

The above discussion suggests the strong possibility that the convention of placing such a notice at the start of the annal narrative was adopted by the Peterborough compiler because annals in the latter portion of the received Chronicle text frequently commence in this manner. The First Continuator thus seems to be consciously imitating the structure of the received  $\sqrt{E}$ -text. As a textual strategy, it is similar to the way the narrative immediacy of the exclamatory statements in the Interpolations conveys a spurious air of authorial involvement. The use of the location of the king's court as a structural leitmotif conveniently obscures the fact that the First Continuation was compiled at a different time and place. It becomes

<sup>39</sup> For such a possible connection between the vernacular and Latin texts, refer to Irvine, 'Production of the Peterborough Chronicle', pp. 60–63 in the present volume.

<sup>40</sup> Refer to *Ungedruckte Anglo-Normannische Geschichtsquellen*, ed. by F. Liebermann (Strassburg, 1879), pp. 13–14; also see Clark, *PC*, p. xxvi.

<sup>41</sup> This is certainly the case for John of Worcester. McGurk refers to John's '[d]eliberate rearrangement' in the ordering of his source material; see *John of Worcester*, pp. xxiii–xxiv.

the means by which a new section of text can be seamlessly joined to the entries of an earlier version. While palaeographical evidence tells us that the First Continuation was written after the compilation of the text till 1121,<sup>42</sup> the structure of the annals themselves endeavours to hide the fact by invoking a superficial continuity with the received annals. While in terms of place and time, the First Continuation is a departure from the proto-E Chronicle, it is also consciously conservative, and constantly aware of the 'tradition' of the Chronicle text to which it was appended. The structural and formal similarity between the proto-E Chronicle and the First Peterborough Continuation draws attention to the self-referentiality of the compiler's craft and the conscious attempts made to ensure textual continuity.

The preceding analysis has focused on the many levels of correspondence between the proto-E-text and the Chronicle written at Peterborough, both formal and stylistic. The stylistic and rhetorical similarities in particular point to a deeper association between the two phases written at Peterborough (the Interpolations and the First Continuation), and this may be further illustrated by a consideration of the word-fields shared by the various stages of the Peterborough Chronicle.<sup>43</sup>

The repetition of words and phrases is a common mode of intensification in narrative. However, the repetition of a phrasal collocation in a particular context may imbue it with cumulative meaning, just as the occurrence of the same word or phrase in differing contexts may subtly modify the meaning. Such manipulation of word-fields may provide a way of understanding the authorial intentions of the chronicler, particularly in the narrative written at Peterborough. In the Interpolations, the use of such word-fields can be seen in the charters describing the foundation of the abbey.

This narrative of origins presents a glorious vision of Peterborough's past, when royal generosity to the abbey knew no bounds. This was, of course, in stark contrast to contemporary twelfth-century reality, as the post-Domesday survey period saw the imposition of stricter measures on the monastic control of land and rent incomes.<sup>44</sup> It became important for monastic communities to re-evaluate their

<sup>42</sup> See Irvine, *MS E*, pp. xviii–xix.

<sup>43</sup> I use the phrase 'word-fields' here to mean certain repetitive word collocations and phrasal structures, which indicate habits of writing and ascribing meaning.

<sup>44</sup> A fear of property alienation is evident in the post-Conquest inventories of landholdings drawn up by many monastic communities, which sometimes take pains to record not only the properties at their disposal, but also those which have already been alienated. For example, both the *Liber Eliensis* and the *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis* record the estates granted to them, but the second part of the *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis* particularly mentions the initial grant along

traditions and preserve their institutional memory of the past in the form of texts. Faced with the absence of documentation regarding monastic holdings in the distant past, the easiest option was to produce a set of spurious documents that would validate the abbey's claims, and Peterborough abbey was no exception.

The Peterborough foundation charters were part of a document called the *Relatio Heddae*, an early attempt at Latin house-history. The *Relatio* is now extant as part of the *Liber Niger*, Peterborough's earliest cartulary, and one of the most significant texts contemporary to the writing of the Peterborough Chronicle.<sup>45</sup> These foundation documents were incorporated in the E-text as the grant of King Wulfhere *s.a.* 656, Pope Agatho's Bull *s.a.* 675, and the grant of King Edgar *s.a.* 963. There are close correspondences in information between the Latin documents and the Peterborough annals, and it is possible that the vernacular versions in the Chronicle were derived from the charters incorporated in the *Relatio*.<sup>46</sup> However, while the Latin charters pay more attention to bounds and legal niceties, the charters incorporated as narrative in the Interpolations are dramatic re-creations of a moment in time. In the Peterborough annals, the royal grant is made through a speech act in front of an audience and then ratified by means of a written act, through the inscription of crosses made by the witnesses.

The narrative of these annals uses the words for love ('luve' or 'luuede') to emphasize the relationship of bounty between the founders of Peterborough Abbey and the Anglo-Saxon royal dynasty. This is a feature of the vernacular narrative which has no verbal equivalent in the corresponding Latin documents. The grant of Wulfhere (656E), for example, uses the forms of the verb 'lufian' and the noun 'luve' to emphasize the abundance of royal favour:

with the qualification that much of the property originally belonging to the monastery has been alienated; see Jennifer Paxton, 'Charter and Chronicle in Twelfth-Century England: The House Histories of the Fenland Abbeys' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1999), pp. 141–44, and *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. by W. D. Macray, RS 83 (London, 1886), pp. 46–70.

<sup>45</sup> For a description of the *Liber Niger*, see Janet D. Martin, *The Cartularies and Registers of Peterborough Abbey* (Peterborough, 1978), pp. 1–7.

<sup>46</sup> This may imply that the construction of the *Relatio* preceded that of the Peterborough Chronicle, though it should be noted that all privileges in the *Relatio* are not present in the E-text. The complex relationship between the *Relatio*, the *Liber Niger*, and the Peterborough Chronicle remains beyond the scope of this paper.

On his time wæx þæt abbodrice Medeshamstede swiðe rice þæt his br[o]ðor hafde ongunnen. Ða luuede se kining hit swiðe for his broðer luuen Peada, 7 for his wedbroðeres luuen Oswi, 7 for Saxulfes luuen þes abodes.<sup>47</sup>

The words appear again in the First Continuation *s.a.* 1123 (the election of the Archbishop of Canterbury), but this time the context has changed. As in the case of the narrative of Wulfhere's grant, the word echoes through the narrative, but it only serves to highlight the arbitrariness of this ecclesiastical election, which seems more due to the personal whims of the people in power:<sup>48</sup>

hit wæs togeanes riht þæt man scolde setten clerc ofer muneces [. . .] ac se king hit nolde undon, for þes biscopes luuen of Særesbyrig.<sup>49</sup>

The phrase becomes an indicator of the relationships between the King and the bishops; the King's 'love' of the Bishop of Salisbury works to the detriment of the proper functioning of ecclesiastical law. Later in the same annal the King grants the bishopric of Lincoln to a secular clerk named Alexander, the nephew of the Bishop of Salisbury, also 'for þes biscopes luuen'.<sup>50</sup> This echo of phrases used earlier in the Interpolations seems to have an ironic effect, serving to emphasize not the bounty of royal grants, but the absence of proper ecclesiastical procedure. The changing context implies a difference in the nature of royalty (earlier kings were better patrons to monastic institutions), but it also becomes a measure of the change in relations: from the ideal relation between king and bishop, 'luve' seems to have become a measure of sycophancy.

Annal 1125 begins with the account of the mutilation of moneyers ordered by the King and put into practice by the Bishop of Salisbury. Within this grim and harsh context, the chronicler notes the arrival of John of Crema.

He com first to þone king on Normandi, 7 se king hine underfeng mid micel wurðscipe; betehte hine siððon þone ærcebiscop Willelm of Cantwarabyrig, 7 he hine ledde to Cantwarabyrig, 7 he wæs þær underfangen mid micel wurðscipe 7 mid micel processionem [. . .] 7 siððon he ferde over eall Englalande [. . .] 7 ofer eall he wæs underfangen mid wurðscipe, 7 ealle hine iæfen micelle gife 7 mære. 7 siððon he heold his concilie on Lundene

<sup>47</sup> 'During his time the abbey of Medeshamstede, that his brother had founded, grew very rich. [And] then the King loved it greatly, for the love of his brother Peada, and for the love of his pledged brother Oswy, and on account of his love for Seaxwulf the abbot.'

<sup>48</sup> This arbitrariness is heightened by the King's appointment of the Queen's chancellor Godfrey as Bishop of Bath when the 'new' Archbishop is on a visit to Rome.

<sup>49</sup> 'it was against the law that a clerk should be set over monks, [. . .] but the King would not change it, on account of [his] love for the Bishop of Salisbury'.

<sup>50</sup> 'for the love of the bishop'.

fulle þreo dagas on Natiuitas Sanctê Mariê on September mid ærcebiscopes 7 mid leodbiscopes 7 abbotes 7 læred 7 lawed, 7 bead þær þa ilce lagas þa Anselm ærcebiscop hæfde æror geboden 7 feala ma, þeah hit litel forstode.<sup>51</sup>

Despite the many actions of the cardinal to make a public spectacle of ecclesiastical law and order, and the ‘honour’ that was shown to him (the phrase ‘underfangen mid wurðscipe’ is repeatedly used in this extract), the narrative culminates in the terse comment that he was unable to enforce the papal laws regarding ecclesiastical investiture and conduct that had been there since Anselm’s time. The honour accorded to John of Crema (rhetorically built up in the narrative through repetition and polysyndeton) should ideally have been a mark of his stature, but is undermined by the fact that the actions that he performs are dismissed curtly by the narrator, and hence shown to be empty and ineffectual (‘þeah hit litel forstode’).<sup>52</sup>

Annal 1127 juxtaposes its account of Abbot Henry’s double dealing (he had left Peterborough for St Angély with the promise of relinquishing the latter, but did not keep his word) with the narrative of the false Crusade led by Hugh de Payns. Despite the honour that was done to Hugh (he was ‘underfeng mid wurðscipe’, a phrase recalling the narrative of 1125) and his accumulation of treasure, the people who follow him are misled. The repeated use of this phrase ‘underfangen mid wurðscipe’ implies that it should not necessarily be taken at face value. The word ‘wurðscipe’, most commonly used to denote ‘honour’ or ‘respect’, is, despite its positive connotations, placed in the context of failure when associated with the visit of John of Crema. In annal 1127 the word is associated with the leader of a false Crusade, who receives much treasure from the king and the people, though it comes to nothing. The other occurrence of this phrase is during the visit of Peter the Venerable from Cluny, noted in annal 1130, where it is associated with Abbot

<sup>51</sup> ‘He came first to the King in Normandy, and the King received him with great honour and after that commended him to the archbishop William of Canterbury, and he led him to Canterbury, and he was there received with great honour and with great procession [. . .]. And after that he journeyed all over England [. . .] and in all [the bishoprics and abbeys] he was received with great honour, and all gave him great and splendid gifts. And after that he held his council in London for full three days during the Nativity of Saint Mary in September, with archbishops and with suffragan bishops and abbots, and with the learned and the laymen; and commanded there the same laws which Archbishop Anselm had earlier proclaimed, and many more — however it benefited little.’

<sup>52</sup> Compare the Peterborough chronicler’s subtle rhetorical buildup of the pomp and ceremony of John of Crema’s visit to reinforce the subsequent meaninglessness of his actions with Henry of Huntingdon’s overt, almost bathetic, account of the Cardinal being caught in the act with a whore after criticizing married priests. See *Henry of Huntingdon*, pp. 473–75.

Henry's treacherous promise to make Peterborough subject to Cluny. The use of the phrase in 1126, where King Henry receives King David of Scotland 'with great honour', lies in a shadow zone, given the fact that he seems to have suggested the imprisonment of Robert of Normandy. While, on the one hand, 'underfangen mid wurðscipe' refers to the actual act of honour that was done to the individual, on the other hand, the narrative context contains an implicit criticism. The connotations accumulated by this phrase through its recurrent use in this particular collocation colour the unproblematic meaning of the phrase and associate it with a 'wurðscipe' that seems to have no intrinsic value, and can be no measure of the worth of the person to whom it was given.

The ironic associations acquired by this phrase may be contrasted with its use in the narrative of the Second Continuation. Annal 1140 notes that Henry II was received in London and Winchester 'with great honour', and reference is made to the 'good peace' which he institutes after the Anarchy.

Ða was þe eorl underfangen æt Wincestre 7 æt Lundene mid micel wurtscipe; 7 alle diden him manred 7 suoren þe pais to halden, 7 hit ward sone suythe god pais sua ðat neure was here.<sup>53</sup>

The phrase 'underfangen [...] mid micel wurtscipe', though recalling the language of the First Continuator, becomes here part of the praise vocabulary for Henry II and is totally divested of the ironic meanings that it had accumulated contextually in the course of the earlier narrative.<sup>54</sup> Likewise, annal 1154 uses this phrase in a conscious parallel between the consecration of Henry II and the election of a new abbot (William of Waterville, chosen after the death of Abbot Martin) at Peterborough.<sup>55</sup> Used without the connotations of unworthiness and failure as in the First Continuation, the phrase becomes part of a conscious parallelism in language between the two instances. The hopes and aspirations associated with the coming of Henry II are linked with the election of William of Waterville as Abbot of Peterborough. The repeated occurrence of this phrase in the two Peterborough Continuations

<sup>53</sup> 'Then was the earl received at Winchester and at London with great honour, and all did him allegiance and swore to hold the peace, and it was soon a very good peace such as was never before.'

<sup>54</sup> As in the annals of the Second Continuation, the use of this phrase 'underfangen mid wurðscipe' is unproblematic in the received  $\sqrt{E}$ -text as well. Though the word 'wurðscipe' and its variant forms is common enough, this specific phrasal collocation occurs only in annal 785, in the context of the reception of missionaries sent by Pope Hadrian to England.

<sup>55</sup> Both King and Abbot are 'bletcæd' (consecrated) and 'underfangen [...] mid micel wurtscipe' (received with great honour). The royal consecration occurs in London, while the Abbot is consecrated at Lincoln and then journeys from there to Peterborough.

illustrates the subtle ways in which word-fields and phrasal collocations depict patterns of continuity and change in the text. While, in some cases, they may acquire ironic import through context, they may also be used unproblematically, without any hint of irony. And certainly, where the same phrasal collocation is used by both the First and the Second Peterborough Continuator, what seems another instance of déjà vu is also, from one perspective, a superficial consonance.

The difference in the use of word-fields by the First and Second Peterborough Continuators can, at one level, be explained by a gap in time. The work of the Second Continuator is removed from the First Continuation by approximately twenty years, being written around 1154/55. However, more important for the purpose of this paper is what these patterns of continuity and differences reveal about the way the Peterborough Chronicle was written in the twelfth century.

This paper has already drawn attention to the conscious structural and stylistic similarities between the proto-E-text and the portions written at Peterborough. The stylistic control of the narrative of the First Continuation finds echoes in the Interpolated annals (for example, the use of similar rhetorical strategies in the narratives of Abbot Henry's involvement with Peterborough and the raid of Hereward, or the re-creation of a dramatic moment in time in the grant of Wulfhere and the death of Robert Bloet). The use of similar exclamatory expressions and prayers as instruments of spurious authorial involvement, the ironic repetition of words and phrasal collocations, and the conscious use of a structural leitmotif to link the proto-E annals with the First Continuation (the mention of the king's court at the head of the annal narrative) demonstrate the remarkable degree of self-referentiality of the Peterborough Chronicle. One way of explaining these instances of déjà vu is that there was a supreme collaborative effort between the compiler of the E-text till 1121 and the chronicler of the First Continuation. However, a second (and simpler) possibility is that, given the extremely close correspondences in style and structure exhibited by the copied text and the First Continuation, the two phases of the Peterborough Chronicle till 1131 were composed by the same individual. This is further buttressed by the fact that the rhetorical and stylistic strategies of the Second Continuation are entirely different from the earlier phases of the text written at Peterborough.

It has been accepted by all surveys of the E-text to date that the scribe of the Chronicle till 1121 is also the scribe of the text from 1122 to 1131.<sup>56</sup> But there is

<sup>56</sup> See Ker, pp. 424–25; *The Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 14; and Irvine, *MS E*, pp. xviii–xxii.

a striking change of appearance between the two portions. While the text till 1121 is written in a neat scribal hand, the First Continuation shows frequent changes in ink and in the aspect of the writing, and the presence of scribal breaks.<sup>57</sup> The writing of the Chronicle till 1121 as a single scribal stint suggests that this portion of the text was conceived of as a 'fair copy' and that the Interpolations had already been incorporated into the proto-E-text as a complete unit. But the same scribe who writes the Chronicle till 1121 as one stint seems to be trying to catch up with the writing of the First Continuation, copying it in fits and bouts. It is generally agreed that the First Continuation was composed close in time to the events described.<sup>58</sup> It is therefore also possible that the annals from 1122 to 1131 were being copied at frequent intervals simply because they were being composed at around the same time. This change in scribal behaviour combined with the contemporary composition of the First Continuation would then imply that there was a single mind at work behind the two processes of compilation and copying, and that the scribe and chronicler of the first two phases of the Peterborough Chronicle were not two different individuals, but one person.<sup>59</sup>

There remains, of course, the possibility that the scribe of the Peterborough Chronicle wrote the First Continuation in phases simply because he had other texts to copy. Such a possibility is hinted at by a fragmented scientific manuscript from Peterborough (London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C I, fols 2–42 and BL, MS Harley 3667) written by a hand bearing a strong resemblance to the first scribe of the Peterborough Chronicle, which is roughly dated to around 1122.<sup>60</sup> But there are two significant points to be noted here. The first is that the activities of the main scribe and the compiler/chronicler of the First Continuation stop simultaneously. If the scribe and the compiler/chronicler were separate individuals, the same scribe could have copied annals written by multiple chroniclers at different times; or, in the absence of the old scribe, a new scribe could have written text produced by the same compiler/chronicler. However, this does not happen in this case. The second significant point is that aspects of the

<sup>57</sup> Refer to Irvine, *MS E*, pp. xviii–xix.

<sup>58</sup> See Clark, *PC*, pp. xxiv–xxv. Also see above, note 3.

<sup>59</sup> Irvine, 'Production of the Peterborough Chronicle', p. 54, notes that the 'manuscript context of the Peterborough Interpolations would seem to suggest a particularly close association between scribe, author, and compiler, to the extent that one cannot rule out a single identity for all three', though she does not entirely eliminate the possibility of separate identities.

<sup>60</sup> *Peterborough Abbey*, ed. by Karsten Friis-Jensen and James Willoughby (London, 2001), p. xxv.

Peterborough story are not completed with the conclusion of the First Continuation. Despite the interest in Abbot Henry's career, the narrative of his abbacy is left unfinished. While his expulsion from the abbacy of St Angély is noted *s.a.* 1131, his departure from Peterborough is not noted. This incident is part of the Second Peterborough Continuation, written after a substantial span of time. There is also no evidence that the chronicler of the First Continuation reviewed the earlier annals in retrospect, or qualified earlier inconsistencies (for example, the only instance when Abbot Henry is shown in a positive light in an otherwise negative assessment of his character). The compiler/chronicler's interest in the text and contents of the Peterborough Chronicle simply stops along with the scribal stint of the First Continuation. Further, the scribal phases of the text till 1131 are exactly coterminous with the process of compiling the text, with the fair copy of the copied annals being followed closely in time by the contemporary composition of annals 1122–31. This close, almost exact, match between scribal and compilatory phases strongly suggests a single 'authorial' involvement rather than a complex activity sustained by two individuals over a period of time.<sup>61</sup>

When the compilation of the E-text is resumed during the early years of Henry II's reign, there is a new scribe and a new chronicler. This second scribal hand has been considered identical to the one which makes corrections in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 134 (Berengaudus). This hand, Bishop notes, is also identical to the hand which writes the twelfth-century portion (fols 6–71) of the *Liber Niger*,<sup>62</sup> the resemblance being particularly clear in the Old English portions of the cartulary.<sup>63</sup> The person who seems to take over the writing of the last phase of the Peterborough Chronicle also seems to have been associated with a text that was contemporary to the writing of the first two phases of the Peterborough Chronicle. It is tantalizing to assume that his close association with

<sup>61</sup> It should be emphasized here that there is no definite 'proof' regarding authorship; in fact, the very scribal neatness of the Chronicle text may militate against such a hypothesis. In the case of the F-text, for example, the very untidiness and inconsistencies of the text point towards the F-compiler's editorial interventions and have led to the conclusion that the text was constructed by a single individual (refer to Baker, *MS F*, p. xviii). Nevertheless, from a carefully copied manuscript, the E-text suddenly becomes a narrative written in blocks or short stints, replete with inconsistencies and corrections. At first, the scribal blocks of the First Continuation start at one-year intervals for the first three years, but go on to become two-year stints for the period 1125–31, the longer scribal blocks coinciding with the abbacy of Abbot Henry, a period of great unrest for the abbey.

<sup>62</sup> T. A. M. Bishop, 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part I', *TCBS*, 1 (1949–53), 432–41 (p. 440). Also see Irvine, *MS E*, p. xiii.

<sup>63</sup> *The Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 14.

documents related to the abbey's past, and perhaps a close association with the previous phase of the Peterborough Chronicle (both texts make use of the *Relatio Heddae*), made him particularly suitable for the job. Like his predecessor, the scribe of the Second Continuation shows an awareness of the form of the earlier text: the writing of the annals 1132–54 is more 'compressed' than the earlier portion (received annals and First Continuation),<sup>64</sup> and it is possible that he is imitating the scribe of the text till 1131.<sup>65</sup>

If we accept this proposition that a single mind was responsible for the Peterborough text till 1131, that the same person was both scribe and author/chronicler for the Interpolations and the First Continuation, the construction of the E-text appears in a new light. On one level, it solves the mystery of the incomplete narrative. If this chronicler had been prevented from finishing his narrative by death or illness, it explains why the departure of Abbot Henry from Peterborough is not noted with the same jubilation as his expulsion from the abbacy of St Angély. But, more importantly, we get a glimpse of the way a Chronicle version was painstakingly recrafted in order to make it a vehicle of provincial history and monastic interests, and the remarkable awareness of textual tradition and narrative structure that this process involved.

Conceiving the writing of the E-text to 1131 as an act of conscious authoring also raises issues regarding the status of the text. That the text was the responsibility of one person rather than a passing succession of scribes may indicate its importance as a vehicle of both national and local history. The very fact that it was continued in the vernacular at a much later date also supports this view. In theory, the E-text could have ended with the First Continuation; if the narrative seemed somewhat incomplete regarding the progress of Abbot Henry, it would have been a simple matter to make a later insertion noting his expulsion.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>64</sup> *The Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 17. Ker, p. 426, notes it as written in a 'more compressed and later type of script'.

<sup>65</sup> As described by Humfrey Wanley in George Hickes, *Linguarum vett. septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archaeologicus*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1705), vol. II. Also noted in *The Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 17. Irvine, *MS E*, pp. xviii–xxiii, notes the characteristics of both scribal hands. Wanley's conclusion may have been based on some palaeographical features shared by both scribes noted in detail by Irvine: for example, the 'f' with a long descender; the use of a 'k' with a closed bow in the latter part of the First Continuation and consistently in the Second; the 2-shaped *r* which follows *o* sometimes in the First and always in the Second Continuation; the dotted and straight limbed *y*; and the use of the *e-caudata* for *æ*.

<sup>66</sup> As perhaps in the case of the D-text, which shows a continuing interest in Scottish affairs. The last entry in D for 1079 seems to be incomplete, after which the next entry is added almost

If we assume that a single ‘author’ was responsible for the text until 1131, it may further imply that the writing, compilation, and manuscript production of the Second Continuation too was the responsibility of one person, the same person who was involved in the other great work of abbey history, the construction of the twelfth-century portion of the *Liber Niger*. The possible authorial construction of all phases of the Peterborough text in the twelfth century would be in consonance with a similar trend demonstrated by the construction of the bilingual F version at Canterbury. In the case of the F-text, the variability of the scribe’s hand, and the complex editorial process involved, makes it easier to argue a case for single authorship.<sup>67</sup> But the construction of the E-text was no less complex than the F-text. Integrating the old and new portions of the text as a single unit would have called for the combined functions of a scribe and editor/compiler. The incorporation of the foundation charters as narrative in the Interpolations would have demanded considerable translation skills, if the charters needed to be translated from Latin to the vernacular. In any case, this hypothesis of the common identity of the scribe and compiler would hold good if we presume that the E-text was compiled and copied in a much more organized manner than the F-text.

Finally, the construction of the E-text may indicate a strong tradition of vernacular text production at Peterborough Abbey, which existed alongside a thriving textual culture in Latin. This is particularly substantiated by the interaction of the Peterborough Chronicle with other Latin texts of Peterborough origin such as the *Relatio Hedde* and the *Liber Niger*. The E-text also seems to have been an important source for the later Latin Peterborough house-history, *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus* (written between 1155 and 1175), which echoes in places the narrative of the Second Continuation.<sup>68</sup> It is also significant that not only is information

twenty years later. The entry for 1130 is miswritten 1080 and records the rebellion of Angus, earl of Moray.

<sup>67</sup> The F-scribe’s tendency towards frequent insertion and correction led the text’s most recent editor to conclude that the scribe and the compiler of the F-text were one: ‘There are [...] reasons to identify the F-scribe as the editor of the Old English text, the translator of the Latin and the compiler of the whole, and these [...] are weightier than the reasons not to do so. The [...] three of the functions [...] mentioned — scribe, editor and translator — required access to both  $\sqrt{E}$  and A. The editor edited them; the translator consulted them while preparing his translation; and the scribe inserted matter from them into F after he had written the main text. Two or three different persons could have consulted  $\sqrt{E}$  and A independently — they would all have been working at Christ Church, where they could have seen both manuscripts — but it makes for a tidier theory to suppose that all of these functions were performed by one person.’ See Baker, *MS F*, p. lxvii.

<sup>68</sup> *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, a Monk of Peterborough*, ed. by W. T. Mellows (Oxford, 1949), pp. xxiv–xxix.

shared between these texts, but the E-text also incorporates features more commonly found in Latin house histories, for example, the inclusion of charter material. However, a detailed study of the correlations between the vernacular and Latin Peterborough texts remains beyond the scope of this paper.

The preceding analysis has focused on the multilayered construction of the Peterborough Chronicle, and ways in which the writing and compilation of the text are informed by the use of a consistent system of structural, stylistic, and rhetorical echoes between the 'old' and 'new' parts. This paper has drawn attention to the strong possibility that the first two phases of the Peterborough Chronicle were compiled by a single 'author'. It has also suggested the strong likelihood that the same individual may have been responsible for all aspects of the text's production (i.e. composition, compilation, and copying). The writing of the E-text at twelfth-century Peterborough thus raises several issues for further exploration, from the specific act of conforming to a pre-existent textual tradition (by continuing a Chronicle that already has a historiographical pedigree), to broader, more wide-ranging issues of authorial control and textual status. The Peterborough Chronicle itself is simultaneously conventional and conservative in terms of its structure (retaining the annal format of the Chronicle tradition), yet forward-looking in terms of its contents (the incorporation of diplomatic texts which are more common in later Latin house-histories). In conclusion, it can be said that the Peterborough Chronicle is a text with a unique perspective, reflecting not only tradition, but also the historiographical currents prevalent at the time of its construction.

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## SENTENCE TO STORY: READING THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE AS FORMULARY

Jacqueline Stodnick

### *'Objectivity is hard to sustain': The Problem with Annals*

To posterity they present merely a name or two, as of a battlefield and a victor, but to the men of the day they suggested a thousand particulars, which they in their comrade life were in the habit of recollecting and putting together. That which to us seems a lean and barren sentence was to them the text for an evening's entertainment.<sup>1</sup>

Charles Plummer's 1899 description of the annals of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle represents one of the earliest acknowledgements of a problem central to scholarship on this text: how to read this diverse work made up primarily of short entries composed in highly repetitious diction and with limited content. What Plummer means by 'lean and barren sentence[s]' are those entries written in a style later identified by Cecily Clark as peculiar to the annals genre and characterized by the use of what she variously describes as 'semi-formulaic language' or 'terse, timeless formulas': that is, paratactic syntax and repetitious phraseology with almost no use of adverbs or adjectives.<sup>2</sup> The laconic nature of these annals leads Clark to conclude that they, unlike the longer Alfredian era entries, for instance, 'simply record events as they occur [...] with minimum interference from any author's personality'.<sup>3</sup> Plummer, seventy years before, addressed this same

<sup>1</sup> Earle and Plummer, II, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Cecily Clark compares the prose of the early entries with other ninth-century texts such as the Old English Orosius, finding that '[t]he early *Chronicle* style [...] shows limitations peculiar to itself' and that '[w]hether or not the distinction were as yet consciously formulated, "annals" were felt to be a separate genre requiring a style of their own': 'Narrative Mode', pp. 217 and 219.

<sup>3</sup> Clark, 'Narrative Mode', p. 220.

lack of personality by imagining that these 'lean and barren' annals were a form of historiographical epitome used by contemporary readers, in their 'comrade life', as the basis of entertaining but transient stories. By means of this imagined extemporized performance, Plummer is able to transform chronological order to story order, brevity to expansiveness, and written text to oral performance, shifting the Chronicle as a whole from the documentary to the literary realm. In fact the text is, in Plummer's account, comfortably inserted into the most important imagined scene of Anglo-Saxon composition — the song of the scop in the hall — becoming the origin of the song itself. Unfortunately, this particular understanding of the Chronicle as literature involves the effective erasure of the text itself, the inadequacies of which must be supplemented by an expanded and improved oral version.

Plummer's comment, which tells us much about nineteenth-century preferences for a Germanic and oral vision of Anglo-Saxon culture, is representative of a common tendency to dismiss the artfulness of the early Chronicle annals. It has long been recognized that the particular constraints of these annals (their brevity, limited content, and restricted diction and syntax) were inherited from paschal annals, which likely served as a direct source for early entries or, at least, offered annalists a stylistic model. Reginald Poole, writing in 1926, surmised that 'large annals' developed out of historical records made in Easter Tables, the format of which determined the length of such marginal additions.<sup>4</sup> However, recent work on paschal annals by Joanna Story, Rosamond McKitterick, and Richard Corradini poses significant challenges to Poole's notion of a progressive relationship between Easter Table notices and full annalistic texts like the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.<sup>5</sup> All three scholars, in their detailed study of particular sets of paschal annals, find that such texts served a long and unique function within the monastic communities that maintained them and were not, therefore, replaced by the more sophisticated and ambitious form of national annals. Conversely, the stylistic qualities of large annalistic compositions like the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle should not be explained away as a remnant of their relationship to paschal annals. The early annalists of the

<sup>4</sup> Reginald L. Poole, *Chronicles and Annals: A Brief Outline of their Origin and Growth* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 33–34. See also Denys Hay, *Annalists and Historians: Western Historiography from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (London, 1977), esp. pp. 38–46.

<sup>5</sup> Joanna Story, 'The Frankish Annals of Lindisfarne and Kent', *ASE*, 34 (2005), 59–109; Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004); Richard Corradini, 'The Rhetoric of Crisis: *Computus* and *Liber annalis* in Early Ninth-Century Fulda', in *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages: Texts, Resources and Artefacts*, ed. by Richard Corradini, Max Diesenberger, and Helmut Reimitz (Leiden, 2003), pp. 269–321.

Chronicle, unlike those copying paschal annals, did not have to make their entries conform to a pre-existing standard layout, but rather chose to perpetuate the limited syntax and diction of such models. Despite this fact, little scholarship not focused primarily on textual or historical matters has been dedicated to the short, repetitious entries that actually make up the majority of the Chronicle's record. Instead the weight of literary scholarship on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle has been concentrated on the Cynewulf and Cyneheard annal and the poetry, which provoked Thomas Bredehoft to label these sections the text's 'usual suspects'.<sup>6</sup> The persistent concentration on these parts of the work to the detriment of other annals has resulted in, as Alice Sheppard comments, a denial of 'the artistry and ideologies of the Chronicle to such an extent that the annals are frequently perceived as a collection of unrelated facts'.<sup>7</sup> As Sheppard notes, the Cynewulf and Cyneheard account and the poetry have always been read as subject to narrative shaping while the shorter and repetitious annals have been seen as factual, unprocessed historical data not amenable to literary analysis.

This notion that annals are somehow closer to 'what really happened' is pervasive. Scholars such as Antonia Gransden, for instance, find annals to be a genre more rudimentary than literary history, in comparison to which their repetitive prose style and chronological ordering appear severely to hamper their ability to tell a coherent 'story' and, concurrently, their ability to comment meaningfully on the historical material they present.<sup>8</sup> Annals are therefore used negatively to define the boundaries of narrative historiography and, even more broadly, the boundaries of narrative itself. Narrative theorists have instanced annals as the absolute exception to rules applying to and defining narrative in general because, as Louis Mink puts it, they have 'no other form than that of chronology and no relations among events other than temporal relations'.<sup>9</sup> Hayden White notes that annals represent only a preliminary stage in the shaping of historical accounts because their single principle of arrangement is that of chronology, which can allow for no distinction between

<sup>6</sup> Bredehoft, *TH*, p. 10. For an analytical survey of trends in literary scholarship on the ASC that gives greater attention to the issues discussed in this paragraph, see my article 'Second-Rate Stories? Changing Approaches to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*', *Literature Compass*, 3 (2006), 1253–65.

<sup>7</sup> Sheppard, *FK*, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 – c. 1307* (London, 1974), p. 29.

<sup>9</sup> Louis Mink, 'Narrative Form as a Cognitive Instrument', in *The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding*, ed. by Robert H. Canary and Henry Kozicki (Madison, 1978), pp. 129–49 (p. 143).

social or natural happenings nor offer any possible explanation for or relation between events.<sup>10</sup> In distinction to the annalist, the historian's identification of elements in terms of motifs, such as inauguration, transition, or termination, changes 'chronicle' into 'story'.<sup>11</sup> White suggests therefore that all historical discourse is constrained by governing tropes, tropes that guide which elements from the chronological record are selected and made prominent, as well as how these elements are assumed to relate to each other.

However, as Dominick Lacapra has pointed out, White's tropic theory, while representing the historian as 'constrained by codes or structures', ultimately still relies on the notion of an 'inert, neutral documentary record' not so constrained.<sup>12</sup> In particular, Lacapra makes the important observation that White's theory tends to 'obscure both the way people in the past lived, told, and wrote "stories" and the way the documentary record is itself always textually processed before any given historian comes to it'.<sup>13</sup> Lacapra's comment suggests that the perception of annals texts, and especially those entries with simple and repetitious wording, as records of events touched only by the intrusion of chronological arrangement misses entirely the fact that these entries are shaped and, moreover, that their 'simplicity' is part of this shaping.<sup>14</sup> Cecily Clark, while on the one hand asserting that this type of annal in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is an unshaped product, by maintaining that it is 'as near absolute fact as history can get', on the other hand notes that these entries 'constitute in their own way a highly artificial manner'.<sup>15</sup> If, as she claims at the conclusion to her analysis of the early annals, 'objectivity is hard to sustain',

<sup>10</sup> Hayden White, 'The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality', in *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, 1987), pp. 1–25; White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, 1973).

<sup>11</sup> White, *Metahistory*, pp. 5–7. Jennifer Neville has analysed the ASC as employing precisely such rhetorical structures, for example the topos of marking an important event in a person's life: 'Making their Own Sweet Time: The Scribes of *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A*', in *The Medieval Chronicle II: Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle, Driebergen/Utrecht 16–21 July 1999*, ed. by Erik Kooper (Amsterdam, 2002), pp. 166–77.

<sup>12</sup> Dominick Lacapra, *History and Criticism* (Ithaca, 1985), pp. 34–35.

<sup>13</sup> Lacapra, *History and Criticism*, p. 35.

<sup>14</sup> That both Hayden White and Cecily Clark use the adverb 'simply' of the annal-writing process indicates that they view it as a natural process, involving little to no filtering: Clark asserts that '[a]nnalists [...] *simply* record events as they occur' ('Narrative Mode', p. 220, my italics), and Hayden White claims that an event 'is *simply* "there" as an element in a series' in a chronicle (*Metahistory*, p. 7, my italics).

<sup>15</sup> Clark, 'Narrative Mode', pp. 220 and 218.

then the style of these annals is not merely dictated by 'what happened' but is confected.

As I will argue here, if this prose style is artificial, then it is productive of effects, the first and most obvious of which is precisely the impression of nearness to the event being described; that is to say, the simplicity of the style itself contrives an effect of contiguity to the event, rather than this contiguity being the cause of the style. The nature and effect of this simple style has, however, never been extensively examined in its own right, even though it represents the most consistent aspect of Anglo-Saxon Chronicle prose.<sup>16</sup> In contrast, the deliberate use of repetition in poetry has received wide-ranging attention. This scholarly lacuna leaves many questions unanswered: for instance, which words and phrases predominate in the Chronicle annals? What seems to govern this choice of vocabulary? Do certain phrases span divisions between continuations or between hands? What is the possibility for innovation within this limited phraseology? These questions open onto other more broadly conceived concerns with the role of reiteration in historical prose writing, more particularly the reasons why such language is perpetuated over generations of annalists and the effect that it has on the notion of history presented. In pursuing these questions about the role of repetitious and limited language within the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle project, as I will do here, I will argue that this type of language not only generates a generic identity for the Chronicle as an annals text, but also provides a subtle register for drawing connections or differences between types of event and groups of people. Reinterpreting the consistency of this phraseology not as passive or barren but as strategic reveals it as part of a coherent historiographic technique that mediates difference and disorder in the historical record itself by means of a deliberately restricted diction.

<sup>16</sup> Noteworthy exceptions being Thomas Bredehoft (*TH*, pp. 14–38) and Jennifer Neville ('Making their Own Sweet Time') who both demonstrate that formulaic genealogies have a strategic part in the ASC's broader historiographic and ideological purpose. Neither author is solely focused on the formulas, however. Thomas Bredehoft does provide a detailed examination of one particular type of formula (which he labels the 'historical superlative') in 'History and Memory in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*', in *Readings in Medieval Texts: Interpreting Old and Middle English Literature*, ed. by David F. Johnson and Elaine Treharne (Oxford, 2005), pp. 109–21 (pp. 113–19). Where formulaic language is most often addressed in earlier scholarship is as evidence for changes of compiler or of source — the most significant contribution in this area being, of course, Janet Bately's article 'The Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 60 BC to AD 890: Vocabulary as Evidence', *PBA*, 64 (1978), 93–129; repr. in *British Academy Papers on Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by E. G. Stanley (Oxford, 1990), pp. 261–97. Bately also includes a sensitive discussion of the problems attendant upon using formulaic language in this way (pp. 101–03).

### *Defining Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Formulas*

[657] Her forþþferde Peada, 7 Wulfhere Pending feng to rice.

[1066] Her forðferde Eaduuard king, 7 Harold eorl feng to ðam rice.<sup>17</sup>

Clark's use of 'semi-formulaic' to describe the phenomenon of exact replication of vocabulary and phraseology across the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's account, evidenced here in annals 657 and 1066, calls to mind the study of repetitious language in Old English poetry, another genre defined by its use of formulaic language. Although obvious differences pertain between vernacular poetry and historiographic prose, a comparison between them seems justified not only because the large and established body of study dedicated to poetic formulas can provide useful terms and concepts, but also because the Chronicle contains poetry and it seems unlikely that the Anglo-Saxons viewed the two as entirely discrete.<sup>18</sup> In addition, recent work within Anglo-Saxon studies has eroded the idea, first delineated by Magoun in 1953, that a significant degree of formulaic language in a text brands that work as orally composed, pointing out that formulas are not distinctive to poetry or to vernacular writing in the period.<sup>19</sup> The extension, primarily initiated by Andy Orchard, of the term formula to the description of prose composition has also eliminated the need always to think of formulas as occurring within metrical constraints. Just as in the study of poetry, however, Orchard does not understand formulas to be limited only to exact repetition, although a formula may indeed

<sup>17</sup> 'Here Peada died, and Wulfhere Pending succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians'; 'Here King Edward died, and Earl Harold succeeded to the kingdom.' All quotations in the original from the ASC, unless otherwise stated, are drawn from Bately, *MS A*. All translations are my own.

<sup>18</sup> The classic definition of the poetic formula originates with Milman Parry's observation, made of Homeric verse, that '[t]he formula [...] may be defined as a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea' ('Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making, I: Homer and Homeric Style', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 41 (1930), 73–147). The bibliography on oral-formulaic theory in application to Anglo-Saxon poetry is vast. Useful summaries of the field and scholarship are provided by A. H. Olsen, 'Oral-Formulaic Research in Old English Studies: I', *Oral Tradition*, 1 (1986), 548–606, and 'Oral-Formulaic Research in Old English Studies: II', *Oral Tradition*, 3 (1988), 138–90.

<sup>19</sup> F. P. Magoun Jr, 'The Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry', *Speculum*, 28 (1953), 446–67. Recent studies extending the relevance of formulaic analysis include Andy Orchard, 'Crying Wolf: Oral Style and the *Sermones Lupi*', *ASE*, 21 (1992), 239–64; Orchard, 'Finding the Right Formula for Boniface', *ASE*, 30 (2001), 15–38; Orchard, 'Both Style and Substance: The Case for Cynewulf', in *Anglo-Saxon Styles*, ed. by Catherine E. Karkov and George Hardin Brown (Ann Arbor, 2003), pp. 271–305.

involve such repetition, but instead to designate an identity of lexical and grammatical items: a prose formula will contain one key word in conjunction with other elements that share the same grammatical or syntactical structure in each instance (although the precise words used may differ).<sup>20</sup> This definition essentially modifies that used in the study of Old English poetry only in the fact that metre and alliteration are not considered as factors controlling the substitution of particular words within the overall structure of the formula.

The distinction between a formula and a repetition, which is not rigidly upheld within studies of formulaic language, opens onto much broader questions about the role of intent and of culture in shaping language use and interpretation, issues that are central to understanding the referential value of Anglo-Saxon Chronicle formulas. In work on verse formulas, the difference between a formula and a repetition has aesthetic consequences, because formulas were long seen as the useful building blocks of a poet's repertoire whereas repetition was understood contextually.<sup>21</sup> In other words, where a formula was traditionally thought to refer only to the system from which it was drawn, and not to any other particular instance, repetition was associated with deliberate and artful recall, allowing for connections to be drawn across an account. In this model, repetition is intentional, falling within the purview of the individual author, while formulas voice the larger system that both constitutes and de-individualizes the poet. In her recent work on verse formulas, Elizabeth Tyler has questioned this binary, and the oral-formulaic assumptions on which it is based, arguing that 'utilitarian formulas and other kinds of formulaic repetitions are so intimately related that they can often not be distinguished'.<sup>22</sup>

The term 'formula', in preference to Cecily Clark's more guarded designation 'semi-formulaic', can be usefully employed to describe the repetitious phraseology

<sup>20</sup> In analysing the poetry of Cynewulf, Orchard defines 'formula' as 'based on the identity of at least two lexically significant elements within a half-line, if not on the identity of an entire half-line or more': 'Both Style and Substance', p. 300, n. 24. His analysis of Boniface's letters seems also to require the identity of two elements (e.g. the *exiguus* and *clementiam* formulas described in 'Finding the Right Formula', p. 25). Anita Riedinger provides a clear and lengthy discussion of the definition of formula in Old English poetry, in which she makes the specific point, following Magoun, that '[v]erbatim repetition usually does indicate a formula in Old English, just as Parry proved that it did in Greek, but the Old English formula is not limited to verbatim repetition': 'The Old English Formula in Context', *Speculum*, 60 (1985), 294–317 (p. 304).

<sup>21</sup> For a summary of scholarship on these issues, see Elizabeth M. Tyler, *Old English Poetics: The Aesthetics of the Familiar in Anglo-Saxon England* (York, 2006), pp. 110–13.

<sup>22</sup> Tyler, *Old English Poetics*, p. 116.

of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle — with some modifications, the most important of these thus being an attention to precise word use. For example, *Personal pronoun/ Proper name (Pers. pn/PN) + verb of dying* would be a way to classify the system drawn upon in annals 657 and 1066 (given at the start of this section). More specific, since these annals share an exact correspondence of vocabulary, would be to describe this formula as *Pers. pn/PN + forðferde*, in which *forðferde* is an invariable element. Whereas poetic formulas can differ in precise vocabulary as long as they share an underlying metrical and grammatical structure, which identifies them as belonging to a group and participating in a shared thematic, the Chronicle sorts and classifies disparate historical material precisely through the exact replication of words. The study of Old English poetic formulas, however, does provide an analogue for thinking of verbatim repetition as allowing for a type of lateral connectivity effected at the level of the phrase. As Anita Riedinger notes, a formula such as *sinces brytta* is used as ‘a convenient epithet for a ruler’, distinguishing a character’s status even while unable to draw fine distinctions between individuals in this group (it is used for both Holofernes and Beowulf, for instance). Some formulas, as Riedinger observes, are used to make far more specific links between individual characters: *beaga brytta* is used only of Scyld and his descendants, while *eald under eorðan* is employed to connect Ongentheow and the dragon.<sup>23</sup> Even poetic formulas usually seen as mere ‘tags’, or filler that does not advance the plot line — such as *weox under wolcnum*, *geong in geardum*, or *rice under roderum* — are persuasively shown by Riedinger to be used in quite particular ways: *weox under wolcnum* is applied only to the ‘progenitors [...] of distinguished lines’, for example.<sup>24</sup> Although poetic formulas do not need to be exact replications in order to function as the medium of connection between characters, episodes, and events, they provide a compelling example for thinking of repetition not as empty but as a medium for the implicit categorization, and therefore interpretation and analysis, of material perhaps widely separated on the linear level of the account.

### *Sentenced to Death*

The sheer numerosity of certain Anglo-Saxon Chronicle formulas might seem to suggest that they are not used in any meaningful way, however. The formula introduced above, *Pers. pn/PN + verb of dying*, for instance, is part of the ‘limited subject

<sup>23</sup> Riedinger, ‘Old English Formula’, p. 295.

<sup>24</sup> Riedinger, ‘Old English Formula’, p. 299.

matter' of early annals, which are concerned almost solely with deaths and transfers of power (ecclesiastic or regnal). Interesting conclusions can be drawn, however, from the specific verb used to fulfil this formula. In the early annals *swealt* and *aswalt* appear (3 and 45), used to describe the deaths of Herod the Great and his grandson Herod Agrippa I, while various verbs are used to indicate death at another's hand: such as *þrowode* of the deaths of James (62), Peter and Paul (69), Bishop Ignatius of Antioch (110), and, in an interpolation by the twelfth-century Hand 8, Alban (283); *ofþorfod* of Stephen (34); *wæs ahangen* of Christ (33) and the apostle Simon (90).<sup>25</sup> The use of this specific vocabulary in the early annals to distinguish martyrs, as well as being a likely indication of the source of this material, is perhaps most interesting for its absence in later sections of the Chronicle. While the British saint Alban is distinguished as such by the addition of *þrowode*, the death of no English saint is thus particularized in the Common Stock material even when, as in the case of Oswald and Edmund, it seems clear that they were generally perceived as martyrs.<sup>26</sup> Instead the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records the violent death of these, and many other figures, by means of the more generic *wearð/wæs ofslægen*, which appears widely in MS A (in annals 2, 465, 633, 642, 651, 654, 679, 716, 731, 748, 784, 794, 822, 838 (twice), 871 (four times), 882, 904 (twice), 910, 978, 1001), and *ofslagon* or *man ofslag* (685, 746, 755, 825, 878). Such stock verb use for death by murder effectively levels differences between categories of homicide, leaving only the broadest of distinctions between deaths related in the World History portions (AD 1–110) and everyone else mentioned in the account. Certainly it indicates that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, early sections of which provided a precedent for marking the death of martyrs by means of specific verb use, was not considered a forum for recording this distinction as it applied to later saints.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Annal 90 is erased in MS A, but present in BCDE: Bately, *MSA*, p. 6. The calendar evidence seems to suggest that the feast day of Bishop Ignatius of Antioch was somewhat widely commemorated in Anglo-Saxon England, recorded as either 17 or 20 December in seven of the twenty-seven calendars (all those currently known to be extant from Anglo-Saxon England) examined by Rebecca Rushworth in *An Atlas of Saints in Anglo-Saxon Calendars*, ASNC Guides, Texts and Studies, 6 (Cambridge, 2002).

<sup>26</sup> Seventeen of the twenty-two calendars that include Oswald's feast day and thirteen of the fourteen that preserve Edmund's designate them as martyrs: Rushworth, *Atlas of Saints*, tables viii and xi.

<sup>27</sup> Interestingly, in the unamended Common Stock material in MS A, only Stephen (34) and, of the English saints, Ecgbryht (729) and Æthelthryth (673 and 679) are identified by the epithet *sancte*, and Guthlac and Pope Leo by the title *halga* (714, 814).

The majority of deaths recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, even when they might result from another's hand, are indicated either by *gefaran* or *forðferan*, generic verbs for *die*. As Janet Bately notes, while these verbs are common in other ninth-century works, individual texts generally employ one of them, whereas both appear in the Chronicle.<sup>28</sup> This, combined with the fact that *gefaran* is consistently used in the annals for the 870s, whereas *forðferan* is used in the 880s, causes Bately to doubt that a single author working without sources penned all the entries from 855–91. Outside of the 870s, however, *forðferan* is used with relentless consistency, provoking Bately to call this the text's 'normal' verb choice for this concept.<sup>29</sup> In fact *Pers. pn/PN forðferde* is the most commonly occurring phrase in the text after the formulaic annal opening *Her*, appearing in about one third of the annals in MS A that contain entries, and in some more than once, in a span from the Genealogical Preface to annal 1066 and the hands of at least ten different scribes. This formula is dominant even within portions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that appear to have been composed contemporaneously with events described in them — for example, annals 958 and 962–64, which include five instances of this verb choice — indicating that this standard phraseology exerted a shaping pressure on the representation of events almost as they occurred.<sup>30</sup>

The formulaic use of *forðferde* above other verbs with similar meanings is a measure not only of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's relationship to its sources, but also of its original status as vernacular historiography. That *Pers. pn/PN forðferde* corresponds to Latin *Pers. pn/PN obiit* seems significant bearing in mind the Chronicle's preference for *forðferan* above *gefaran*, even though both are similarly euphemistic. However, as Bately notes, this consistency of vocabulary does not necessarily reflect that in certain of the Chronicle's Latin sources (such as the 'Chronological Epitome' provided by Bede at the conclusion of the *HE*), with

<sup>28</sup> Bately, 'Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', pp. 109–10.

<sup>29</sup> Bately, 'Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', p. 103.

<sup>30</sup> Bately (*MS A*, p. xxxvi) believes these annals in MS A to be the work of one scribe whereas David Dumville observes three hands at work and asserts that these entries were made almost contemporaneously with events described in them: 'Origins', p. 61. That *forðferde* is the 'normal' verb for *die* is reinforced by the fact that Scribe 8 (a twelfth-century Canterbury hand who made extensive interpolations in MS A, many apparently from an ancestor of MS E, and who was also responsible for the bilingual Latin and English version preserved in MS F) altered *gefor* in annal 571 by adding *-þferde*. Unlike many of Scribe 8's additions to A, which supplement the account with extra material, this change of *gefor* to *geforðferde* seems to be solely motivated by a desire to bring this annal in line with the customary and standard diction of the ASC.

'*forþferde* rendering *obiit*, *defunctus est*, *migravit ad Dominum*, and *transiit*'.<sup>31</sup> Why the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle renders a varied vocabulary by means of a virtually invariable one seems best explained as part of a deliberate attempt by annalists to minimize unevenness in their text caused by its multiple sources, compilers, and continuations; in other words, it is a coherent part of the project, as Thomas Bredehoft puts it, 'of developing a historiographic idiom in Old English', an idiom that can stamp a generic identity on the text.<sup>32</sup> While the text may well have begun as an extension (and translation) of the 'Chronological Epitome', to which it may have owed its year-by-year format and AD dating, the use of *forðferan* as the dominant verb for *die* maintains a link with other texts influential both for the content and format of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, especially calendars and Easter tables that include death notices in the *obiit* format.<sup>33</sup> The use of formulaic expressions such as *Pers. pn/PN forðferde*, however, at the same time that they gesture towards similar list texts from which the Chronicle may have derived material, also function to erase specific ties to source material by making it difficult to detect what is original composition versus compilation or direct copying.<sup>34</sup>

Another important effect of such consistent verb use is, again, to level differences between the individuals whose deaths are included in the account. The initial World History annals aside, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle annalists limit their inclusion of death notices almost exclusively to kings, high-ranking ealdormen, archbishops, bishops, and popes. While mention is made of the deaths of British and Carolingian rulers and, where they encounter English forces, of Scandinavian leaders, the Chronicle annalists focus their attention on Anglo-Saxon kings in particular. The fact that the death of kings is recorded in exactly the same way as the

<sup>31</sup> Bately, 'Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', p. 102, n. 2. Sources for the Common Stock matter probably also included earlier lost sets of annals, lists of kings and bishops, and, of course, traditional oral material. See Janet Bately, 'Manuscript Layout and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 70 (1988), 21–43 (pp. 38–39).

<sup>32</sup> Bredehoft, 'History and Memory', p. 113.

<sup>33</sup> For obits in calendars, see Rushworth, *Atlas of Saints*; for the relationship between the ASC and Easter tables, see pp. 92–93 and notes 4 and 5 above.

<sup>34</sup> Janet Bately makes a similar point 'that chroniclers adding chronologically later material to an existing chronicle did not necessarily trouble, or think it desirable, to undertake a fundamental revision of the vocabulary of that existing chronicle': 'Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', p. 101; she makes the same point in application to the ASC's layout in 'Manuscript Layout', p. 41. In fact it seems more likely that they performed their revision on the source material they were using for their later entries in order to bring it into line with conventional ASC diction.

deaths of major ecclesiastical dignitaries and of popes sets all these figures within a comprehensive framework that does not differentiate between secular and ecclesiastical authority. In fact the succession of kings is for the majority of the account given in exactly the same terms as the sequence of (arch)bishops, by means of the formula *Pers. pn/PN (on)feng to rice/bisceopdome/arcebisceopdome*. For example, annal 741, 'Her Eþelheard cyning for, 7 feng Cuþrēd to Wessexna rice', is exactly parallel to annal 690 which reads, 'Her Peodorius ærcebisceþ forþferde, 7 feng Beorhtwald to þam biscepdome', and both are almost identical to annal 814, 'Her Leo se eþela papa 7 se halga forþferde, 7 æfter him Stephanus feng to rice'.<sup>35</sup> A combination of the formulas *Pers. pn/PN forðferde* and *Pers. pn/PN (on)feng to rice/bisceopdome/arcebisceopdome*, as we see in these annals,<sup>36</sup> is often used to describe the succession movement; either or both of these formulas also regularly appear with *heold (number) wintra/geara*, delineating the duration of rule. While ecclesiastical succession can also be indicated by *Pers. pn/PN was gecoren to biscope* (as in annals 785, 790, and 840 of the Common Stock material), because it is more usually recorded with the verb *(on)fon*, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as a whole works to obscure the differences between the dynastic, familial model determining the succession of kings and the elective model followed for (arch)bishops. At the same time, the fact that regnal, episcopal, and papal succession are not distinguished by distinctive phraseology sets English history, as represented by the sequence of Anglo-Saxon kings and ecclesiastical dignitaries, firmly within Roman Christianity, as represented by the succession of popes. In this way the deliberately limited phraseology for recording succession seems to function as part of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's general objective to incorporate the English within Christian history — manifest, for instance, in the inclusion of the Genealogical Preface from Christ's birth, the partial record of scriptural history given in the World History annals, as well as the decision to use *anno domini* dating. What is achieved at one level of the record by means of ordering and inclusion is therefore

<sup>35</sup> *Pers. pn/PN (on)feng to rice/bisceopdome/arcebisceopdome* is the most prevalent formula after *Pers. pn/PN forðferde* in MS A. *Pers. pn/PN (on)feng to rice* is used in MS A in the Genealogical Preface and in annals 3, 16, 26 (*gyminge* replaces *rice*), 39, 70, 81, 83, 189, 381, 449, 455, 488, 547, 560, 593, 611, 616, 643, 655, 674, 675, 676, 688, 694, 709, 716, 728, 731, 738, 741, 754, 755, 784, 794, 800, 814, 819, 825, 828, 836, 855, 860, 866, 871, 885, 900, 911, 924, 940, 946, 955, 958, 975, 978, and 1066. The *Pers. pn/PN (on)feng to (arce)bisceopdome* formula is used in 167, 650, 670, 676, 690, 704 (*onfeng munuchade*), 744, 754, 909, 934, 963, 994, and 1050.

<sup>36</sup> The two formulas are used together twenty-four times or almost one quarter of the total instances that *Pers. pn/PN forðferde* appears.

reinforced linguistically by the rigorous use of formulaic language, which serves to unify and suggest affinities between disparate material.

Subtle variation in the use even of very common formulas can be used to forge lateral connections across the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as a whole. While most of the time the formula *Pers. pn/PN forðferde* is juxtaposed with other formulaic phrases to produce identical repetition in two or more separate annals — for instance, annal 651 reads ‘Her Oswine kyning wæs ofslægen, 7 Aidan biscep forþferde’, as does annal 679, ‘Her Ælfwine wæs ofslægen, 7 Sancte Eþelp̃ryb forþferde’, or again in 748 ‘Her wæs ofslægen Cynric Wesseaxna eþeling, 7 Eadbryht Cantwara cyning forþferde’ — in later annals this formula is expanded and varied by the addition of dating according to saint’s days or the Roman calendar.<sup>37</sup> Annal 951, for instance, reads ‘Her forðferde Ælfheah Wintanceastres bisceop on Sancte Gregories mæssedæg’ with similar information given also in annals 933, 946, 958, 962, 963, and 984.<sup>38</sup> Dating formulas of this type probably originate with obits in a calendar or Easter Table; when recontextualized in the Chronicle, they allow for precise linking of deaths across the span of the account, as in annal 940:

Her Eþelstan cyning forðferde on .vi. kalendas Nouembris ymbe .xl. wintra butan anre niht þæs þe Ælfred cyning forþferde, 7 Eadmund æþeling feng to rice 7 he wæs þa .xviii. wintre. 7 Eþelstan cyning rixade .xiii. gear 7 .x. wucan.<sup>39</sup>

This annal overlays two variant notions of temporality: the annual cycle of days and months, redolent of liturgical time in its circular logic, and the linear passage of years marked by the annal numbers. Although there is almost nothing original about the diction of the entry (since it is mostly composed of conventional phrases such as *Pers. pn/PN forðferde*, *Pers. pn/PN feng to rice*, and *Pers. pn/PN rixade*), the dating formula opens a point of connection between Æthelstan and Alfred’s deaths, which, in turn, compellingly emphasizes the legitimacy and continuity of the West Saxon dynasty. Although the innovation here is very slight (consisting of

<sup>37</sup> ‘Here King Oswine was killed and Bishop Aidan died’; ‘Here Ælfwine was killed and Saint Æthelthryth died’; ‘Here Cynric the West Saxon atheling was killed and Eadbriht the King of the Kentish people died.’ *Pers. pn/PN forðferde* is also used in combination with *Pers. pn/PN ricsode x wintra/geara*, as in annal 534 or 812; *Pers. pn/PN heold/hæfde rice/bisceþdom x wintra/geara* as in annal 703 or 1066; *se wæs + an identifying detail of status* as in annal 644 or 897; or *7 his lic liþ/resteþ* as in annal 716 or 888.

<sup>38</sup> ‘Here Ælfheah the Bishop of Winchester died on Saint Gregory’s mass day.’

<sup>39</sup> ‘Here King Æthelstan died on the sixth kalend of November, forty years but one night from the time when King Alfred died, and Edmund Atheling succeeded to the kingdom and he was then eighteen years. And King Æthelstan ruled for fourteen years and ten weeks.’

the addition of 'butan anre niht þæs þe' to an expected and conventional sequence of formulaic expressions), by describing the deaths of Alfred and Æthelstan in the same way and by linking the two via the 'new' dating formula the text is able to make a forcible point about the achievements of the house of Wessex and lend prominence to its historical presence in the record.

### *Invasive Discourse: Common Stock Formulas and their Afterlives*

The formulas I have discussed thus far tend to be widely dispersed throughout the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle text, even into the later versions, and show the effect of its repetitious diction in levelling categories. Certain formulas are, however, used only or predominantly within discrete sections of the text, and these work in a way contrary to the universal formulas by identifying material as related; they can create, in other words, narrative strands within the sometimes amorphous-seeming mass of the Chronicle as a whole. As rigorous as the annalists seem to have been in revising their material into standard Anglo-Saxon Chronicle diction, as I suggested above, formulaic expressions that are used intermittently in this way could yet reflect underlying changes of source or indicate divisions between compilations. For instance, the formula *þone stede/stowe þe is genemned* (the place that is named), which, as Janet Bately has noted, is restricted in MS A to annals 455–584, would suggest a change of this kind.<sup>40</sup> The sporadic appearance of other formulas, however, would seem to be due to broad changes in the nature of events related and the concurrent development of new, subject-specific idioms. Both *sige niman* (to take the victory) and *niman frið wið* (to make peace with) function in this way, appearing in the Common Stock primarily within ninth-century annals concerned with battles against Viking invaders.<sup>41</sup> While previous Chronicle annals have, obviously, mentioned battles, no other single stretch of entries has been so dedicated to the narration of repeated martial engagement in this way, necessitating the use of new and different formulas for the representation of continuing conflict.

<sup>40</sup> Bately, 'Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', p. 105 and n. 2. The formula occurs in annals 455, 457, 477 (twice), 495, 501, 514, 527, 552, 577, and 584. Bately notes that it recurs in 891–97, although I can only find one equivalent here, which does not share the exact wording of the earlier formula: 894 'on an igland þæt is ute on þære sæ, þæt is Meresig haten'.

<sup>41</sup> *Sige niman* occurs in annals 800, 823, 837, 845, 851 (twice), 853, 870, 871 (twice), 890 ('hæfdon sige'), and 893 ('hæfdon sige'); *niman frið wið* appears in 865, 866, 867, 868, 871, 872, 873, 875, 993, and 1001.

Particularly noteworthy is the use of *ahton wælstowe gewald* (they possessed control of the battlefield) and *wæs/wearð micel/ungemetlic wæl geslegen* (there was a great amount of slaughter), two formulas also restricted within the Common Stock portion to the ninth-century annals and almost entirely to the context of Scandinavian attacks: *ahton wælstowe gewald*, moreover, appears in almost every instance with a Scandinavian subject.<sup>42</sup> That these formulas are not part of a general vocabulary for warfare is attested by the fact that both appear only once outside of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; these phrases should thus be considered part of a specialized vocabulary unique to this text, where they are being used for highly particular purposes.<sup>43</sup> An important effect of their restricted contexts of use is to associate related material and also to enforce and mark differences between the English and their Scandinavian opponents. Both of these functions are achieved tacitly and without explicit statement of connectedness or of description.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> The only use of this formula in reference to the English within the Common Stock occurs in annal 860, which describes how ‘wip þone here gefuhton Osric aldorman mid Hamtunsire 7 Eþelwulf aldormon mid Bearrucscire 7 þone here gefliemdon 7 wælstowe gewald ahton’ (and ealdorman Osric with Hampshire and ealdorman Æthelwulf with Berkshire fought against the Danish army and put it to flight and had control of the battlefield). Because *sige niman/habban* is used as a generic phrase to designate victory within this section, this unusual use of *wælstowe gewald ahton* in reference to the English can of course be interpreted as strategic, marking an important reversal of the situation of Scandinavian victory, established at this point in the record as a norm.

<sup>43</sup> Both *ahton wælstowe gewald* and *wæs/wearð micel/ungemetlic wæl geslegen* appear outside the ASC only once each in the Old English Orosius: *The Old English Orosius*, ed. by Janet Bately, EETS, SS, 6 (London, 1980), 64.25 and 46.32, respectively.

<sup>44</sup> This interpretation of these ninth-century formulas is reinforced by the general use of the term *here* for the Viking army as opposed to *fyrð* for the English in the ASC. While these terms are generally employed to make this distinction, the pattern of their use shows some strain between a situational meaning (in which the words are used to refer to any defending and invading force) and a meaning specific to the English/Scandinavian context (which begins to achieve a paradigmatic status and to subsume the general situational meaning). The use of *here*, especially, is complex. As Michael Swanton notes, *fyrð* is related to *feran*, to set out, while *here* comes from *hergian*, to act like a raiding army, and the laws of Ine define a *here* quite clearly as any group numbering above thirty-five men: Swanton, *ASC*, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv. Although ‘[u]nderstandably, the term *here* is found most frequently through the Chronicle referring to the Viking armies [...] it was applicable to any army intended for attack rather than defence’ and is used also of English armies attempting to invade Ireland, Scotland, and Wales (ibid., p. xxxiv). Swanton observes that *here* is used of both English and Scandinavian forces in annal 910E for a battle at Tettenhall on the English/Danelaw border, when they ‘were perhaps both intent on invasion’ (ibid., p. xxxiv). However, *here* is later used of Danes when they ‘had long abandoned casual raids in favour of long-term settlement’, which suggests that the term had accrued ethnic associations in addition to its functional connotation

The question motivating this section, then, is what happens to this distinctive vocabulary within the later Anglo-Saxon Chronicle continuations and, in particular, how does the work done by the Common Stock to establish its context of use subsequently serve to frame its appearance? The last use of *ahton wælstowe gewald* and *wæs/wearð micel/ungemetlic wæl geslægen* within the Common Stock occurs in annal 871 (872C), which recounts the events of a year witnessing ‘.viii. folcgefeoht [...] wiþ þone here on þy cynerice be suþan Temese’, the death of King Æthelred, and the accession of Alfred to the throne of Wessex.<sup>45</sup> Neither of the phrases is used after this until 905CD (904A), within a span of early tenth-century annals concerned with Edward the Elder that, as Thomas Bredehoft has argued, continue the Common Stock strategy of focusing on the ruling house of Wessex.<sup>46</sup> Because annals 901–15 appear in A, B, and C, despite the fact that these manuscripts represent different traditions, Bredehoft suggests that BC rely here ‘upon a single source that was [...] kept up to date at relatively brief intervals, and that that source had something like the status of an official copy, having been transcribed into A and into the BC ancestor at different stages of its own development’.<sup>47</sup> That, within this set of annals, the entry for 905 should reprise standard vocabulary from the Common Stock is significant, because it demonstrates one method by which the tenth-century chroniclers explicitly attempted to situate their own work in relation to what came before. Clearly these annalists well understood the established context for these phrases, but they also modified and developed their use based on this context. The annal reads: ‘7 þær wæs on gehwæðre hond micel wæl geslægen, 7 þara Deniscena þær wearð ma ofslægen, þeh hie wælstowe geweld ahton’.<sup>48</sup> By inserting an expression of degree, *ma*, and substituting a concessive, *þeah*, for what in the Common Stock would have been the coordinating conjunction *and*, this annal significantly softens the blow of another English defeat and concisely renders the somewhat complex resolution of the battle (which seems to be that the Danes have suffered greater losses than the English, although they still have not been driven from the field). Annal 905 therefore demonstrates, as Cecily Clark noted in her

(*ibid.*, p. xxxiv). Swanton’s brief survey, however, reveals contradictory uses of the term continuing into the later annals.

<sup>45</sup> ‘nine national-battles [...] against the *here* in the kingdom to the south of the Thames’.

<sup>46</sup> Bredehoft, *TH*, p. 63.

<sup>47</sup> Bredehoft, *TH*, p. 64.

<sup>48</sup> ‘And there was on each hand much slaughter, and of the Danish there were more slain, although they had control of the battlefield.’

influential treatment of the style of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the ways in which the later annals 'offer [...] a wider range of connectives for types of clauses already used'.<sup>49</sup>

The effect of such verbal repetition is twofold: not only does it work to smooth over the breach between annalists and continuations, but it also writes later events in the context of earlier entries. If we accept Bredehoft's argument that the Edwardian annals are a unit and thus argue for 'a kind of ideological continuity linking Alfred and his son',<sup>50</sup> then the resuscitation of appropriate formulaic diction should be seen as one practical method by which such continuity was sought, since it encouraged readers to view Edward's struggles as equivalent to those of his forebears. One major effect of the use of such language, then, is to frame the 905 battle in terms of an encounter between the English and an external enemy, the *here*, whereas in fact this encounter was part of a difficult succession crisis engendered by the death of Alfred. As the beginning of the annal states, 'Her aspon Æðelwald þone here on Eastenglum to unfriðe, þæt hie hergodon ofer Mercna land oð hie comon to Creccagelade'.<sup>51</sup> Æthelwold, Alfred's nephew, here revives and foment regional and ethnic divisions present within England in a bid for the throne against Alfred's son, Edward the Elder. The challenger is killed in the battles of 905, at which point version A 'appears deliberately to suppress the fact that [...] Æðelwold was accepted as king in Northumbria' by omitting the phrase 'þe hi him to cinge gecuron' after Æthelwold's name in the list of Northern dead, substituting instead 'ðe hine to þæm unfriðe gespon'.<sup>52</sup> Since this set of annals has an Edwardian focus, the use of formulaic language typical for encounters between English and Scandinavians seems on a par with this ideologically motivated substitution in the A-manuscript, since both effectively write Edward as a legitimate English king. More particularly, the use of this customary language situates the conflict as one between insiders and outsiders, when in fact it arises from a dynastic struggle that is being mapped onto complex, mutable, and internal categories of difference both regional and ethnic. Aligning Æthelwold, and his forces, with language typically

<sup>49</sup> Clark, 'Narrative Mode', p. 222.

<sup>50</sup> *TH*, p. 64.

<sup>51</sup> 'Here Æðelwald persuaded the *here* among the East Angles to discord, that they harried over the land of the Mercians until they came to Cricklade.'

<sup>52</sup> 'whom they had chosen as their king'; 'who inspired them to the discord'. Audrey Meaney, 'D: An Undervalued Manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*', *Parergon*, n.s., 1 (1983), 13–38 (p. 26). The statement that he was accepted as king in Northumbria is preserved in the other ASC versions.

used for Scandinavians is one way to de-emphasize his legitimacy in comparison to Edward. Thomas Bredehoft's comments on annal 900, which emplots the Edward-Æthelwold conflict by means of a narrative echo of the iconic 755 Cynewulf and Cyneheard episode, apply equally well therefore to the use of traditional phraseology in 905:

[t]he chronicler's method here, to paint the battle for the West Saxon throne in terms of historical events previously narrated in the *Chronicle*, represents a remarkable transformation in English historiography: the *Chronicle* itself has apparently become an authoritative document of English history, and the composition of post-Alfredian annals [. . .] can extend the Common Stock's narrative precisely by interpreting more recent events in terms of the *Chronicle*'s own historical record.<sup>53</sup>

This reading of annal 905 suggests that, because the Common Stock so forcibly associates certain phraseology with ninth-century encounters between the English and invading Scandinavians, it effectively establishes a paradigmatic set of vocabulary that, when it appears within the later continuations, cannot help but recall, in complex ways, this original authoritative context. This interpretation holds true also for annal 982C, in which this standard language returns to describe a battle between the Holy Roman Emperor Otto II and Saracen armies invading Greece:

7 þy ilcan geare for Odda Romana casere to Greclande, 7 þa gemette he þara Sarcena mycele fyrde cuman upp of sæ, 7 woldon þa faran on hergoð on þæt cristene folc, 7 þa gefeagt se casere wið hi, 7 þær wæs micel wæl geslægen on gehwæþere hand, 7 se casere ahte wælstowe gewæld.<sup>54</sup>

Although there is some reversal of terms here — the Saracens are referred to as a *fyrð* (which, in annals dealing with English conflicts, generally designates the home forces) and the Christian Emperor is the one who 'ahte wælstowe gewæld' — the language of this entry nevertheless clearly writes this distant encounter in terms

<sup>53</sup> Bredehoft notes that annal 900 narrates events 'in precisely such a form as to call to mind the events of the Cynewulf and Cyneheard narrative: the West Saxon "witan" is mentioned [. . .] Æthelwold locks the gates at Wimborne in upon himself and his men, he makes heroic proclamations, and [. . .] there is a woman involved' (*TH*, p. 62). Æthelwold's distance from the ideal of heroism that he proclaims in this episode, shows 'the illegitimacy of his own claim to the throne' (*ibid.*).

<sup>54</sup> 'and this same year the Holy Roman Emperor Otto went to Greece, and there he met a great army of Saracens coming up from the sea (who) wanted to go harrying among that Christian people, and then the Emperor fought against them and there was much slaughter on either side, and the Emperor had control of the place of slaughter'. All quotations from the C-text are taken from O'Brien O'Keeffe, *MS C*.

familiar from Scandinavian ravages on England. The majority of the phrases in annal 982 are common Anglo-Saxon Chronicle formulas for referencing the Scandinavian invasions of the ninth century: for instance, *cuman upp of se, þær wæs micel wæl geslegen on gehwæpere hand*, and *ahton wælstowe gewæld*. Such a strategy has two effects. First, the use of these phrases for a battle between Saracens and *cristene folc* places Scandinavian attacks on Britain within the global context of opposition between Christians and unbelievers, and thus works to universalize local history. In addition, the familiar language interprets European history through the lens of insular events and, by finding analogies between the two, assists readers in making sense of continental frameworks of power. Such a move prioritizes and makes visible the value of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle itself as an authoritative record and elevates its own history of Anglo-Scandinavian encounters to the status of an interpretive paradigm within which to place, and understand, later and more distant encounters between peoples.<sup>55</sup>

The ways in which these ninth-century formulas are picked up by later annalists, particularly in relating the events of the Norman Conquest, are especially interesting in light of their early use only in reference to Scandinavian invasions. Version C uses the *ahton wælstowe gewæld* formula in narrating the victory of Tostig and the Norwegian King Harald at the Battle of Fulford against the English earls Edwin and Morcar: ‘7 wið þone here gefuhton 7 mycel wæl geslogon, 7 þær wæs þæs engliscan folces mycel ofslagen 7 adrenc 7 on fleam bedrifen, 7 Normen ahton wælstowe gewæld.’<sup>56</sup> Versions D and E use the related formula *agan sige*, with ‘Normen’ as the subject in D and ‘se norrena cyng’ (the king of the Northmen/Norwegians) in E. Although the more customary *Deniscan* has been replaced here with some variation of *Normen*, both formulas with *agan* are used in a sense consistent with earlier annals that employed them only to refer to Scandinavian victories. The 1066 annal in version D, however, employs the same formula both for the English victory at Stamford Bridge — ‘Engle ahton wælstowe gewæld’ — and for William’s conquest in the Battle of Hastings: ‘7 þa Frencyscan ahton wælstowe

<sup>55</sup> Alice Sheppard provides a lengthy analysis of this annal, which she sees as a prelude to the writing of the Æthelredian chronicler (*FK*, pp. 74–76). She makes a convincing argument here that the ASC is valorizing Otto’s actions as a king who takes the field to fight (he did not, in actuality, win this battle), as compared to Æthelred’s passivity.

<sup>56</sup> ‘And they fought against the *here* and slaughtered many, and many of the English people were slain there and oppressed and driven in flight, and the Northmen/Norwegians had control of the battlefield.’

gewald'.<sup>57</sup> While the appearance of this formula in reference to the English at Stamford Bridge is anomalous, all other uses of it in the 1066 annals, by applying it to victories won by predominantly Scandinavian forces, remain relatively consistent with the practice established in earlier entries. When the formula appears in connection with William the Conqueror's victory, however, a historical comparison is suggested between Normans and Vikings, represented as being alike because both are forces that have invaded English shores. By means of its repetitious diction, the text sets up a lateral association between generations of Viking attacks and the conquest of the Normans, and incorporates the Normans within English history as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells it by representing their attack in the same terms as, and therefore in light of, those which have gone before.<sup>58</sup>

### Conclusion

The entry relating Cnut's victory in 1016–17 is instructive for thinking about the effect of formulaic language on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's narrative of history. Following a lengthy description of the engagements between Cnut and Edmund Ironside, victory is finally signalled in C and D by the phrase 'ahte Cnut sigē' ('hæfde Cnut sigē' in E), appropriate to the context of Scandinavian invasion. However, following Edmund's death soon after they had divided the country between them, CDE read in 1017 'Her on þissum geare feng Cnut kyning to eallon Angelcynnes ryce' whereas version A states that 'Her Cnut wearð gecoren to kinge'.<sup>59</sup> As I demonstrated above, the formula *Pers. pn/PN (on)feng to rice* is thoroughly usual for recording the succession of both kings and ecclesiastical figures and relies upon a succession model. *Pers. pn/PN wearð gecoren* is also a conventional phrase, although for the succession of popes, archbishops, and bishops rather

<sup>57</sup> 'the English had control of the battlefield'; 'and the French had control of the battlefield'.

<sup>58</sup> Bredehoft, 'History and Memory', also notes the use of this phrase in the C-manuscript in reference to the Norwegian victory at the Battle of Fulford, but does not note its use in D of the Norman Conquest. He observes of the use of the phrase in C that '[i]t may be going too far to suggest that, in these later examples, the late tenth- and eleventh-century Danish and Norman invasions and victories were intentionally identified with the invasions of the middle ninth century, but it is clear that the patterns of vocabulary and expression that the Common Stock set out (the basic tools of Anglo-Saxon historiography) continued to have a living force for chroniclers generations and even centuries later' (p. 113).

<sup>59</sup> 'Here in this year Cnut succeeded to all the kingdom of the English people'; 'Here Cnut was chosen as king.'

than for kings, being used only once elsewhere in the account in this way. Although this choice of phrase in A does distinguish Cnut's accession from that of other kings, the conventionality of the language of CDE is a good example of how Anglo-Saxon Chronicle formulas can be used to contain the disruption of invasion by means of repetitious diction. Oddly enough, a highly restricted diction here leads to a capaciousness in classification, as the fact that Cnut is not a member of the West Saxon dynasty cedes to a relentless urge to standardize the diction of the account.

Formulaic language is used throughout the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in this way to transcend the chronological order of the account itself and to suggest both a notion of historical continuity and a connectedness between events and figures distinguished by means of the same formula. As I have shown, certain phrases (such as *Pers. pn/PN (on)feng to rice* or *Pers. pn/PN forðferde*) are regularly used throughout the text, indicating that later continuators used the existing parts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as a type of formulary, from which they derived preferred syntax and diction. In turn, such recurrent formulas accommodated potentially disparate and chaotic material, such as Cnut's accession to the throne in 1016, within the narrative of English history as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle constructed it. An important component of this narrative, emphasized by the universal formulas used for death and succession, was English involvement within Roman Christianity and imperial history. Not all formulas are universally employed, however. Phrases such as *ahton welstowe gewæld*, for instance, are used to particularize and to classify events that may be widely separated in time. Such formulas illustrate the interpretive principles that guided the annalists in their choice of diction, and shape a narrative inasmuch as they assert the interconnection of certain entries. This type of linkage is not didactic, being effected without overt statement that one event reflects another. Formulaic language relies instead on a reader attuned to its nuances, a reader akin to the annalists themselves who, in resuscitating the phraseology of earlier sections, let play the associative potential of such language.

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## REWRITING THE ÆTHELREDIAN CHRONICLE: NARRATIVE STYLE AND IDENTITY IN ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE MS F

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In a recent article, Nicholas Howe adopts a thought-provoking metaphor that suggests how style might afford insight into identity: ‘when we talk about style, we are in some measure trying to talk about the “human noise” we hear in the textual and visual materials of Anglo-Saxon England’.<sup>1</sup> The present paper is an exercise in listening for ‘human noise’ in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. It begins with an examination of the Æthelredian Chronicle of 983–1016CDE (sometimes called the Chronicle of Æthelred and Cnut), a section which, among the Chronicle’s notoriously laconic annals, is comparatively complex in style and personal in tone.<sup>2</sup> Renewed attention to the annalist’s style and voice can, I suggest, deepen our understanding of the construction of English identity in these annals, extending the recent work of Alice Sheppard on this topic.<sup>3</sup> The second part of the paper

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Howe, ‘What We Talk about When We Talk about Style’, in *Anglo-Saxon Styles*, ed. by Catherine E. Karkov and George Hardin Brown (Ann Arbor, 2003), pp. 169–78 (p. 176).

<sup>2</sup> The precise bounds of this text-block are disputed: I take a cautious view, following Simon Keynes, ‘The Declining Reputation of King Æthelred the Unready’, in *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference*, ed. by David Hill, BAR British Series, 59 (Oxford, 1978), pp. 227–53. See also Sten Körner, *The Battle of Hastings, England, and Europe 1035–1066* (Lund, 1964), pp. 1–24; Dumville, ‘Some Aspects’, pp. 26–28; Conner, *Abingdon Chronicle*, pp. xlviii–xlix and liii–lvi; O’Brien O’Keeffe, *MS C*, pp. lxiv–lxix; Irvine, *MS E*, pp. lxiv–lxxv.

<sup>3</sup> Sheppard, *FK*, pp. 71–120. Identity, and especially national or ethnic identity, has for some time been an important topic for medievalists. On the role of historical writings in Anglo-Saxon identity, see Patrick Wormald, ‘Bede, the *Bretwaldas* and the Origins of the *Gens Anglorum*’, in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*,

takes the Æthelredian Chronicle as a route into a much neglected text, that of manuscript F.<sup>4</sup> This neglect is unsurprising: as a bilingual epitome, based on an ancestor of E (√E) augmented by other, mostly extant, sources, and defective from 1058, F apparently has little unique information to offer.<sup>5</sup> It is, however, firmly localized at Christ Church, Canterbury, and fairly securely dated to c. 1100;<sup>6</sup> moreover, Peter Baker convincingly argues on the basis of revisions in the manuscript that the compiler who assembled the material, the translator who produced the Latin entries, and the scribe who wrote the text were the same person.<sup>7</sup> The F-scribe makes striking excisions in the Æthelredian Chronicle. By careful questioning of the elusive relationship of style and content — the ‘how’ and the ‘what’ of the text — we can trace in this post-Conquest chronicle the contours of national and local identity and even, tentatively, the workings of an individual mind.

ed. by Patrick Wormald with Donald Bullough and Roger Collins (Oxford, 1983), pp. 99–129, and Wormald, ‘*Engla Lond: The Making of an Allegiance*’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 7 (1994), 1–24; Susan Reynolds, ‘*Medieval Origines Gentium* and the Community of the Realm’, *History*, 68 (1983), 375–90; Nicholas Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England*, rev. edn (Notre Dame, 2001); Sarah Foot, ‘The Making of *Anglucynn*: English Identity Before the Norman Conquest’, *TRHS*, 6th series, 6 (1996), 25–49; Matthew Innes, ‘Danelaw Identities: Ethnicity, Regionalism and Political Allegiance’, in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages*, 2 (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 65–88; Timothy Reuter, ‘The Making of England and Germany, 850–1050: Points of Comparison and Difference’, in *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Alfred P. Smyth (London, 1998), pp. 53–70; Nicholas Brooks, ‘English Identity from Bede to the Millenium’, *Haskins Society Journal*, 14 (2005 for 2003), 33–51; Sarah Foot, ‘The Historiography of the Anglo-Saxon “Nation-State”’, in *Power and the Nation in European History*, ed. by Len Scales and Oliver Zimmer (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 125–42.

<sup>4</sup> London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A VIII. Baker, *MS F*.

<sup>5</sup> On the sources of F, see Baker, *MS F*, pp. xxix–lxii.

<sup>6</sup> Dumville has shown from other occurrences of the F-scribe’s hand that he was active soon after 1093: ‘Some Aspects’, p. 44; see also his ‘A Bilingual English/Latin Chronicle Written about A.D. 1100’, in *Universitetskoe Perevodovedenie V’ipusk 2: Materialy II Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii po perevodovedeniiu ‘Fedorovskie chteniia’ 23–25 oktiabria 2000*, [Federov Readings II. University Translation Studies] (St Petersburg, 2001), pp. 121–34 (p. 123). Baker argues the compiler’s interest in the Investiture Controversy of 1100–07 points to a date in that range: *MS F*, pp. lxxvi–lxxix. On provenance, see *ibid.*, p. ix.

<sup>7</sup> Baker, *MS F*, pp. lxii–lxviii.

The parameters of recent comment on the CDE Æthelredian Chronicle were set by Simon Keynes in a 1978 article which explored the implications of identifying this series of annals as a retrospective account of Æthelred's reign written as a block.<sup>8</sup> Keynes argued that the chronicler telescopes the reign, seeing it all in terms of the defeat at its end. The Æthelredian Chronicle is a bitter account of failure that presents and explains that failure through recurrent treachery, cowardice, flight, poor decision-making, and general incompetence on the part of the English.<sup>9</sup> As Alice Sheppard argues, these annals can convincingly be read not simply as the story of a king's defeat but as a narrative of English identity.<sup>10</sup> The acts of betrayal described in the annals — of people by their lords, of lords by their people — gradually break down the bonds that hold the social hierarchy together, eroding the character of the English, established earlier in the Chronicle, as a people who fight and conquer.<sup>11</sup> Specific acts of treachery or cowardice contribute to a panorama of inefficiency and malaise. The failure of leaders infects their followers; as the chronicler famously remarks in the annal for 1003, with reference to Ealdorman Ælfric faking illness before a battle, 'ðonne se heretoga wacað, þonne bið eall se here swiðe gehindred'.<sup>12</sup>

The construction of English identity in the Æthelredian Chronicle is characterized by a tension between unity and fragmentation: between the English as a single entity, a whole, and its constituent parts. The life of the nation is portrayed as a sometimes prickly interaction of multiple groups. The opening of 1016 affords one particularly telling example, portraying the negotiation of different groups at a point when mutual confidence has been disastrously eroded. As Edmund attempts to gather a *fyrð*, the levies demand the King's presence and the help of the Londoners; the King (warned by nameless rumour-mongers) fears treachery; after

<sup>8</sup> Keynes, 'Declining Reputation', pp. 229–36; see also Keynes, 'A Tale of Two Kings: Alfred the Great and Æthelred the Unready', *TRHS*, 5th series, 36 (1986), 195–217.

<sup>9</sup> See also the excellent thematic discussion by Jonathan Wilcox, 'The Battle of Maldon and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 979–1016: A Winning Combination', *Proceedings of the Medieval Association of the Midwest*, 3 (1995), 31–50.

<sup>10</sup> Sheppard, *FK*, pp. 88–92.

<sup>11</sup> Sheppard, *FK*, pp. 94–108 on disloyalty by both lords and men; pp. 74–75 on how the Æthelredian Chronicle is situated within discourses about fighting.

<sup>12</sup> 'When the general weakens, the whole army is greatly hindered.' Quotations from the Æthelredian Chronicle are from Irvine, *MS E*, E being the closest available representative of F's main source, √E. Translations are my own but I have made use of Whitelock, *ASC* and Swanton, *ASC*.

twice being summoned the gathering twice disintegrates, and 'beheold hit naht þe ma þe hit oftor ær dyde'.<sup>13</sup> It is often suggested that those who counted as members of medieval peoples were those who took part in the political life of the *gens*, which is to say mostly the elite; certainly the historical record, the Chronicle not excluded, concentrates on the doings of the elite.<sup>14</sup> However, the chronicler also in various places sketches in those who are not involved in military action or political decisions but who still suffer from their effects. In the annal for 1006, for example, the army causes only damage to those it is meant to protect: 'Se fyrdinge dyde þære landleode ælcne hearum, þet him naðor ne dohte ne innhere ne uthere.'<sup>15</sup> This passage again divides the English into opposed groups, those who fight and those who farm, those who act and those who suffer. At the same time the spatial metaphor (inside versus outside) points to the essential unity of identity of all sorts and conditions of Englishmen in opposition to their common enemy, the Vikings.<sup>16</sup>

The representation of English identity is enhanced and complicated by the narrative style of the Æthelredian annals and by the construction of an opinionated and emotionally involved narrator. In what remains the most useful discussion of the style of the Chronicle, Cecily Clark shows that the account of Æthelred's reign grows increasingly distinctive in style and tone.<sup>17</sup> It is given shape and drama through devices such as antithesis, prolepsis, balanced phrasing, and assorted figures of

<sup>13</sup> 'It did no more good than it often did previously.'

<sup>14</sup> See for example Walter Pohl, 'Introduction: Strategies of Distinction', in *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800*, ed. by Walter Pohl with Helmut Reimitz (Leiden, 1998), pp. 1–15 (pp. 4–7); Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 41–59 (arguing that elites and masses did not have a common sense of English identity in the Middle Ages); Barbara Yorke, 'Political and Ethnic Identity: A Case Study of Anglo-Saxon Practice', in *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. by William O. Frazer and Andrew Tyrell (London, 2000), pp. 69–89 (p. 89). For some mild criticism, see Hugh Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity 1066–c. 1220* (Oxford, 2003), p. 27; for much severer criticism, focused on the ethnogenesis theory of Wenskus and his successors, see Alexander Callander Murray, 'Reinhard Wenskus on "Ethnogenesis", Ethnicity, and the Origin of the Franks', in *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Andrew Gillett, Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 4 (Turnhout, 2002) pp. 39–68 (pp. 53–59).

<sup>15</sup> 'The English campaign caused the people of the country every sort of harm, so that they profited neither from the native army nor the foreign one.' Compare also references to the sufferings of the *earme folc*, the 'wretched people', *s.a.* 999 and 1011.

<sup>16</sup> For comment on this passage, see Wilcox, 'The Battle of Maldon', pp. 35–36.

<sup>17</sup> Clark, 'Narrative Mode', pp. 224–30.

repetition including *traductio*, *repetitio*, and the use of motifs and 'keywords'. These devices give the annals a liveliness that in itself hints at an authorial personality. Other features of the way events are narratized contribute further to a sense of a particular perspective, of a partisan viewpoint and an analysing intelligence through which details are filtered. The narrator offers evaluative comments (for example, when Eadric is received back by Edmund in 1016, 'næs nan mare unræd gered þonne se wæs');<sup>18</sup> he exclaims in sorrow (*wala!*) at the flight of the Kentish levies in 999;<sup>19</sup> he generalizes about the character of the Vikings ('dydon eall swa hi bewuna wæron: slogon 7 bærndon', 1001)<sup>20</sup> and about the course of events ('Wæs hit þa on ælce wisan hefig tuma, forðam þe hi næfre heora yfeles geswicon', 1001).<sup>21</sup>

A shuttling between particular events and wider trends is characteristic of the Æthelredian Chronicle and contributes to the way the parts of the nation are related to the whole. Specific incidents and individuals are read as typical of the character and fortunes of the English. The annal for 1010 gives an especially extensive example. It moves from the failure to intercept the Vikings on their way back from Tempsford to the general statement that 'þonne hi wæron be easton, þonne heold man fyrde be weston'; then it tells us that the king and council tried to formulate a policy, but retreats into a kind of despairing imprecision in recounting the result: 'ac þeah man hwæt þonne rædde, þet ne stod furðon ænne monað'; the passage builds to a famous evocation of widespread demoralization: 'Æt nyxtan næs nan heafodman þet fyrd gaderian wolde, ac ælc fleah swa he mæst myhte, ne furðon nan scir nolde oðre gelæstan æt nyxtan.'<sup>22</sup> Jonathan Wilcox remarks on the strategy of 'personalizing' English failure in figures such as Eadric and Ælfric, but the Chronicle on the whole tends to concentrate on single incidents and named individuals: it is the expansion from event to process and from specifics to trends that is striking in the Æthelredian annals.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> 'No more foolish counsel was followed than that was.'

<sup>19</sup> The use of 'he' here is merely for convenience: there is no indication of the sex of the Æthelredian chronicler or the constructed narrator of the annals. The F-scribe presumably was a monk and male.

<sup>20</sup> 'They did just as they were accustomed, killed and burned': compare similar uses of *bewuna* and *gewuna* s.a. 1006 (twice), 1009, and 1016.

<sup>21</sup> 'In every way it was a heavy time, because they never ceased from doing harm.'

<sup>22</sup> 'When they were in the east, then our army was kept in the west'; 'but whatever was decided then, it did not stand for even a month'; 'At the last there was no headman who would gather an army, but each fled as best he could, and nor even finally would any shire help another.'

<sup>23</sup> Wilcox, *The Battle of Maldon*, pp. 36–39.

The construction of a partisan narrator is thus closely bound up with the way the chronicler depicts the nature and behaviour of the English. In fact it is the narrator's perspective that most tellingly conveys the tension of unity and fragmentation within English identity. If we consider the relationship of the narrator to the events he describes, he seems to be both profoundly identified with the triumphs, sufferings, and failures of the English and strongly disaffected with the way their affairs are conducted. This conflict is encapsulated in the annalist's use of first person plural pronouns. The authorial 'we' appears once as a device for conferring unity on the narrative ('Her on þissum gear gewurdon þa scipu gearwe þe we ær ymb spræcon', 1009).<sup>24</sup> In a further four instances, forms of the first person plural pronoun signal identification with the body that can be called *Angelcynn*, but three out of four passages offer harsh and sweeping criticism of the English defence effort, and even the last emphasizes the humiliation of a town once glorious:

Ac we gyt næfdon þa geselða ne þone wurðscipe þet seo scipfyrð nytt wære ðisum earde þe ma þe heo oftor ær wæs. (1009)

þonne hi wæron be easton, þonne heold man fyrde be westan, 7 þonne hi wæron be suðan, þonne wæs ure fyrð be norðan [. . .] ne furðon nan scir nolde oðre gelæstan æt nyxtan. (1010)

Ealle þas ungesælða us gelumpon þurh unrædes, þet mann nolde him to timan gafol bedan, ac þonne hi mæst to yfele gedon hæfdon, þonne nam man grið 7 frið wið hi, 7 naðelæs for eallum þisum griðe 7 friðe 7 gafole hi ferdon æghwider folcmælum 7 hergodon 7 ure earme folc ræpton 7 slogon. (1011)

Þær man mihte þa geseon earmðe þær man ær geseah blisse on þære earman byrig þanon us com ærest Cristendom 7 blisse for Gode 7 for worulde. (1011)<sup>25</sup>

The narrator is scathing about muddle, failure, and incompetence yet feels implicated in them, in a position to gain or lose honour (*wurðscip*).

<sup>24</sup> 'Here in this year the ships we previously spoke of were ready.'

<sup>25</sup> 'But we still did not have the good fortune or honour that the ship-army was any use to this land any more than it often was before'; 'when they [the Danes] were in the west, then the army was kept in the east, and when they were in the south, then our army was in the north [. . .] and at last no shire would even help the next'; 'all these misfortunes befell us through bad counsel, in that people wouldn't offer tribute in time, but when they had done the maximum amount of harm, then peace and truce were concluded with them, and nevertheless for all the peace and truce and tribute they went everywhere in bands and harried and they plundered and slew our wretched people'; 'there one might see wretchedness where before one saw bliss, in the wretched town from which Christendom first came to us and both heavenly and earthly bliss.'

The 'human noise' is loud in the Æthelredian Chronicle. Style and narrative preferences shape the portrayal of English identity and construct a distinctive voice that conveys how it feels to be English at a time of crisis and disunity. Keynes, no doubt rightly, takes the attitudes of the narrator to be those of the author, who, he argues, wrote between 1016 and 1023, most probably in London.<sup>26</sup> The tensions within the account, so illuminating of the complexity of English nationhood, arise from the author's closeness to events. Sheppard is strongly critical of Keynes's emphasis on the 'personal' or 'idiosyncratic' character of the Æthelredian annals, pointing especially to their intertextual connections to mirrors for princes and salvation history.<sup>27</sup> 'Personal' and 'idiosyncratic', however, need not be the same. The personal perspective remains a textual effect: the annalist extends not breaks the generic parameters of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, building on its basic repertoire of formulae.<sup>28</sup>

In F the most immediately obvious change to the Æthelredian Chronicle is that the source annals have been shortened in such a way as to render the style plainer and the tone more detached. The simplest way to read F's style is as the product of distance in time. So it is, in part; but F is the result of the interaction of genre with multiple other factors: local and institutional identity at Christ Church; the survival of English identity past the Conquest; the processing of record into usable history; and the energetic but sometimes inconsistent activities of the F-scribe himself.<sup>29</sup> The following discussion begins with general remarks on F relevant to the topic of identity. It then returns to the style of the Æthelredian annals, first looking at questions of perspective and identification, then at what F has to say about the character of the English. The last part examines an instance where F expands the source, the annal for 995. Throughout, it should be remembered that F is a messy text subjected to repeated revisions; its evidence is sometimes elusive or contradictory.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Keynes, 'Declining Reputation', pp. 231–32.

<sup>27</sup> Sheppard, *FK*, pp. 92–93.

<sup>28</sup> See the remarks of Jacqueline Stodnick, 'Sentence to Story: Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as Formulary', this volume.

<sup>29</sup> Besides producing F the F-scribe is known to have annotated A and √E and written forged charters. He inserted material from Norman Chronicles into both √E and F but at times concentrated more on one manuscript than the other. Baker, *MS F*, pp. xx–xxiii, xxx–xxxix; Irvine, *MS E*, pp. lxxxix–xc.

<sup>30</sup> The multiple revisions in the manuscript can be seen in the facsimile: *Facsimile of MS F, the Domitian Bilingual*, ed. by David Dumville, ASCCE, 1 (Cambridge, 1995). On the tendency of

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The production of F was undertaken as part of a burst of historical activity at Christ Church in the years around 1100.<sup>31</sup> This included 'improvements' of the abbey's documents and the compilation of a cartulary, the annotation of Chronicle MS A, partly by the F-scribe himself, and of MS B, and the writing of hagiography and biography.<sup>32</sup> Christ Church and other monastic communities were concerned to assert their rights to pre-Conquest privileges and lands and to defend their authority from encroaching secular clergy by appealing to (or inventing) their earlier history.<sup>33</sup> They were also busy producing *vitae* of their Anglo-Saxon saints, for incoming Norman clerics expected saints to be properly documented.<sup>34</sup> F clearly reflects the institutional interests of Christ Church. It incorporates, for example, an expanded series of entries to do with the abbey's major saint, Dunstan (925, 941, 955, 957, 959, 961, 978, 980, 988; only two of these entries are in E and

continuator of the Chronicle to suggest but not carry through overarching interpretive or narrative schemes, see Jennifer Neville, 'Making their Own Sweet Time: The Scribes of *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A*', in *The Medieval Chronicle II: Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle, Driebergen/Utrecht 16–21 July 1999*, ed. by Erik Kooper (Amsterdam, 2002), pp. 166–77 (pp. 168–69).

<sup>31</sup> See Dumville, 'Some Aspects', p. 50.

<sup>32</sup> See Robin Fleming, 'Christ Church Canterbury's Anglo-Norman Cartulary', in *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: Proceedings of the Borchard Conference on Anglo-Norman History 1995*, ed. by C. Warren Hollister (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 83–155; Dumville, 'Some Aspects', pp. 39–53; Bately, *MS A*, pp. xiv–xv and xciii–xcv. On the hagiographical and historical writings of Osbern and Eadmer, see R. W. Southern, *St Anselm and his Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought 1059–c.1130* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 248–51, 274–87, and 298–354; Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 – c. 1307* (London, 1974), pp. 127–42; and Jay Rubenstein, 'The Life and Writings of Osbern of Canterbury', in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars 1066–1109*, ed. by Richard Eales and Richard Sharpe (London, 1995), pp. 27–40.

<sup>33</sup> Martin Brett, 'John of Worcester and his Contemporaries', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. by R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford, 1981), pp. 101–26 (pp. 125–26); Julia Barrow, 'How the Twelfth-Century Monks of Worcester Perceived their Past', in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. by Paul Magdalino (London, 1992), pp. 53–74 (pp. 73–74).

<sup>34</sup> See S. J. Ridyard, '*Condigna veneratio*: Post-Conquest Attitudes to the Saints of the Anglo-Saxons', *ANS*, 9 (1987), 179–206; Paul Antony Hayward, 'Translation-Narratives in Post-Conquest Hagiography and English Resistance to the Norman Conquest', *ANS*, 21 (1999), 67–93 (pp. 89–93).

most are from A where, in turn, they are insertions probably made in late eleventh-century Canterbury).<sup>35</sup> Annals not in other Chronicle manuscripts include entries that assert Christ Church was founded as a monastic house (870, 995) and, copied from the abbey's archives, documents relevant to the Investiture Controversy of 1100–07 (694, 742, and 796): the central figure in the controversy was Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, and Christ Church was his cathedral. These unique annals are bulky and, especially where they incorporate charter diction, rhetorically elaborate compared to the abbreviated entries surrounding them. In this respect style underscores institutional identity.

However, as a revision of the complete span of the Chronicle to at least 1058, F is more than a house history. Dumville, commenting on the provision of a Latin as well as an English text, writes: 'Its principal aim seems to have been the creation of a chronicle of English history in the Christian era readable by members of the Christ Church community, whether French or English.'<sup>36</sup> The F-scribe clearly felt the relevance of the English past; this is not necessarily a sign he himself was English, but he did participate in the continuing construction of a story of Englishness.<sup>37</sup> F's version of the story responds to changed circumstances following the Conquest. F draws on Norman chronicles for material on the Norman dukes (as well as for other additional matter on early Church history and the Carolingians);<sup>38</sup> in 1031, F notes the accession of William to the dukedom, 'ðe was siððan cing on Englalande'.<sup>39</sup>

The F-text is an epitome: the F-scribe's main approach to the source material is to select and abbreviate. As has been mentioned, F augments √E with material from A, Norman chronicles, and other sources. Meanwhile, the annals of √E itself are pared down. This is achieved partly by the techniques of the rhetorical exercise of *abbreviatio*, by omission of descriptive detail and simplification and transposition

<sup>35</sup> The interpolator in A is Bately's Hand 7. Bately, *MS A*, pp. xxxix and xcv; Dumville, 'Some Aspects', pp. 42–43. See Baker, *MS F*, pp. xxix–xliv, on F's use of A.

<sup>36</sup> Dumville, 'Some Aspects', p. 45.

<sup>37</sup> On the identity of the F-scribe, see Baker, *MS F*, pp. lxxix–lxxx. Baker points out that the F-scribe's English is completely idiomatic.

<sup>38</sup> Baker, *MS F*, pp. l–liv.

<sup>39</sup> 'Who was afterwards king in England'.

of phrasing, and partly by excision of content.<sup>40</sup> In the Æthelredian annals, there are minimal additions apart from the long insertion at 995.

The opening of the annal for 1009 gives an impression of how the F-scribe edits. The passage is quoted from E with material retained in F in bold and rewritten or added material in square brackets:

Her on þissum gear**e** **gewurdon þa scipu gearwe** þe we ær ymbe spræcon, 7 **heora wæs swa feala swa næfre ær** þes, ðe us bec secgað, **on Angelcynne ne gewurdon** on nanes cynges dæg, 7 **hi man þa ealle togædere feroðe to Sandwic, 7 þær sceoldon licgan 7 þisne eard healdan wið ælcne uthere.** Ac we gyt næfdon þa geselða ne þone wurðscipe þet seo scipfyrd nytt wære þisum eard þe ma þe heo oftor ær wæs. [F: **ac hit to nahte gewearð eal swa hit oftor ær gelamp.**] Ða gewearð hit **on þisum ilcan timan** oððe litte ær þet Brihtric Eadrices broðor ealdormannes forwregde Wulfnoð cild þone Suðseaxscian [F: **Godwines fæder eorles**] **to þam cyning, 7 he ut gewende** 7 him þa to aspeon þet he heafde .xx. scipa [F: **7 hæfde mid him .xx. scipa**], 7 **he þa hergode æghwer be ðam suðriman 7 ælc yfel wrohton.**<sup>41</sup>

The F version here retains most of the information of the passage, but it deletes anything that could be considered repetitive or redundant, which is to say the amplifying phrases that give this passage much of its tone of weightiness and outrage. Though an element of evaluation is preserved, F's account appears more factual and detached than that in CDE. The sense of a personal stake in events, and of close identification with the honour and failure of the English, is lost. A key factor is the elimination of the first person from the passage. Indeed, of the instances of first person pronouns in the Æthelredian Chronicle listed above, the F-text retains only one, the second example from 1011 ('þanon us com ærest Cristendom'); this is a less temporally located 'us' than the others, pointing to the *longue durée* of the

<sup>40</sup> On *abbreviatio*, see Diana Greenway, 'Authority, Convention and Observation in Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*', *ANS*, 18 (1996), 105–21 (p. 107); Geoffrey de Vinsauf, 'The New Poetics', trans. by Jane Baltzell Kopp, in *Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts*, ed. by James J. Murphy (Berkeley, 1971), pp. 27–108 (p. 58).

<sup>41</sup> 'Here in this year **the ships** about which we spoke earlier **were ready, and** from what books tell us, **there were more of them than there had ever previously been in England** in the days of any king. **And they were all assembled at Sandwich, and they were to** remain there and **guard this country against every foreign army.** But we still did not have the good fortune or honour that the ship-army was any use to this land any more than it often was before. [F: **but it came to nothing as it often had before.**] Then it happened **at this same time** or a little earlier that Brihtric, brother of Ealdorman Eadric, betrayed Wulfnoð *cild* the South Saxon [F: **the father of earl Godwine**] to the king, and he turned away and enticed ships to him until he had twenty [F: **and had twenty ships with him**] and he then harried everywhere **along the south coast and inflicted every harm.**'

Christian history of the English and echoing similar phrases much earlier in the Chronicle ('on his dagan sende se halga papa Gregorius us fulluht', 565F; 'ðone geleauan ða sanctus Gregorius us sende' 785F).<sup>42</sup> Another trend in F is to delete generalizations and broad observations in favour of individual events and actions. This tendency is most evident outside the passage quoted above (for example in the annals for 998, 999, and 1010), but we may note that the F-chronicler adds a precise detail (Wulfnoth is the father of Godwine) and tones down the sweeping claim that Wulfnoth harried 'everywhere' along the south coast.

The effect of the F-scribe's intervention is largely to dismantle the emotionally involved narrator. However, the detached tone cannot simply be interpreted as a lack of interest in these events on the F-scribe's part; rather, the F-scribe submerges his own voice in the chorus of Chronicle tradition. The effect of the editing is to move the style of the Æthelredian annals closer to the terse manner of the early Chronicle. There are various signs that the F-scribe is sensitive to the Chronicle's formulaic diction: for example, he routinely, if not invariably, regularizes 'Her on þissum gear' to *Her* at the beginning of annals, and Jacqueline Stodnick notes how he alters *gefor* to formulaic (*ge*)*forþferde* in MS A.<sup>43</sup> On the one hand, F shows a changed relationship to the events of 983–1016: the F-scribe selects what seem to be the essential facts, discarding most of the narrator's comments that convey how urgently these events spoke to English character, pride, and suffering at the time. On the other hand, F displays continuity with the distinctive tradition of vernacular chronicling in English.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, the F-scribe does not merely copy Chronicle style but re-produces it, makes it again through revision of the source.

This picture of continuity with change can be deepened, first by consideration of the style of F's Latin version of the Æthelredian annals, then by further examination of the F-scribe's selection of content. The Latin and English annals in F do

<sup>42</sup> 'In his day St Gregory sent us baptism' (also in 565E); 'the faith that St Gregory sent us' (also 786D, 785E).

<sup>43</sup> Compare E and F *s.a.* 978, 980, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 1000, 1002, 1009, 1010, 1012, 1014, 1016, 1017, 1021, 1033, 1048 (1046E), 1050 (1048E), 1051 (1052E), 1053, 1054, 1055, 1058; exceptions include 969, 1005, 1007, 1011, 1032. For (*ge*)*forþferde*, see Stodnick, 'Sentence to Story', p. 100, n. 30.

<sup>44</sup> For recent comment on the Chronicle and its diction as vehicles of cultural continuity after the Norman Conquest, see Thomas A. Bredehoft, 'History and Memory in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*', in *Readings in Medieval Texts: Interpreting Old and Middle English Literature*, ed. by David F. Johnson and Elaine Treharne (Oxford, 2005), pp. 109–21 (pp. 119–20).

not always correspond exactly.<sup>45</sup> In the Æthelredian annals, there are several places where the Latin is more elaborate than the English, translates comments excised from the English, or makes explicit what the English only implies. For example, in 993 F's English annal opens 'Her was Bebbanburh tobrocen' (993E: 'Her on ðissum geare was Bæbbanburh tobrocon'); the Latin clarifies that this was done 'a\b/ exercitu Danorum'.<sup>46</sup> In 999, a sentence that in the English differs from E only in spelling is expanded to give a fuller, more dramatic picture of the intended — unrealized — outcome of the king's plans. The English reads 'Ða rædde se cing wið his witan ðæt man scolde mid scipfyrde 7 eac mid landfyrde him ongean faran'; the Latin 'Iterum \autem/ cepit rex consilium ut prepararetur nauale bellum, (ut sic per terram et per mare exercitus aduersariorum omnino deleteretur et abigeretur)'.<sup>47</sup> In 1006, F's English deletes a characteristic reference to Viking habits, but the Latin puts it back in:

7 þa ofer þone midne sumor com þa se denisca flota to Sandwic 7 dydon eallswa hi ær gewuna wæron: hergodon 7 bærndon 7 slogon swa swa hi ferdon. (1006E)

Her com se Denisca here to Sanduic 7 hergodon 7 bærndan 7 slogon swa swa \hi/ ferdon. (1006F)

Eodem anno reuersus est exercitus Danorum ad Sanduic et, exiens de nauibus, more suo cepit omnia uastare, occidere, igne consumere. (1006F)<sup>48</sup>

In such passages F's Latin is slightly less laconic and cool of tone than the English. It even incorporates some self-conscious narrative devices such as, in 1013, the rhetorical question *Quid multa?*, though it does not restore the sense of personal involvement of the Æthelredian Chronicle: rather, the Latin has an air of being more carefully spelled-out than the English.

<sup>45</sup> See Baker, *MS F*, pp. lxii–lxviii (Baker points out that the Latin and English agree far more than they differ: p. lxiii); Dumville, 'A Bilingual English/Latin Chronicle', pp. 126–34.

<sup>46</sup> 'Here Bamburgh was sacked' (993E: 'Here in this year Bamborough was sacked'); F Latin adds 'by the army of the Danes'.

<sup>47</sup> English: 'Then the king and his witan decided that they should go against them with ship-army and also with land-army'; Latin: 'Again however the king took counsel that a naval expedition should be prepared, in order that the army of the enemies should thus be completely destroyed and driven out by land and by sea.'

<sup>48</sup> 'And then after midsummer the Danish fleet came to Sandwich and did just as they were previously accustomed: they harried and burned and slew wherever they went'; 'Here the Danish army came to Sandwich and harried and burned and slew wherever they went'; 'In the same year the army of the Danes returned to Sandwich and, coming out of their ships, according to their custom began to lay waste, kill, and consume everything with fire.'

One interpretation would be to read this as F's construction of a dual audience, marking the difference between readers of English, who can fluently interpret a laconic, allusive record, and the Latin-reading audience, who need a little more help.<sup>49</sup> As Dumville observes, F differs from comparable bilingual works in that the text placed second, 'the crib, to help the weaker brethren', is the Latin.<sup>50</sup> However, while the presence at Christ Church of monks from Bec doubtless stimulated production of a bilingual chronicle, the detail of the text points more compellingly to the F-scribe's own engagement with the source. First, the more spelled-out character of the Latin must to some extent reflect the process of translation itself; the F-scribe has to think about the precise implications of expressions like 'com se here' and 'ongean faran'.<sup>51</sup> Second, though there are annals where either the Latin or the English reflects an additional source, in the cases quoted the Latin has nothing that could not have been deduced from  $\sqrt{E}$ . We can thus see F displaying, on a very modest scale, the impulse to *amplificatio* characteristic of medieval historians.<sup>52</sup> Third, conversely, F is not consistent: there are places where the Latin has less drama, verbal complexity, or information than the English. 1003 is a good example: the English alone retains the concrete descriptive detail that Ealdorman Ælfric 'gebræde [. . .] hine to spiwenne'.<sup>53</sup> The differences between the Latin and the English, especially given the numerous alterations and insertions in the manuscript, attune us to the human noise of the F-scribe in that they reveal him revising, changing his mind, making errors, and labouring over his text. Fourth, the Latin again shows the F-scribe absorbing and re-producing the diction of the pre-Conquest Chronicle, but now including that of the Æthelredian Chronicle. A particularly

<sup>49</sup> This is the line taken by Ryan Lavelle regarding the different treatment of royal *tuns* in Latin sources and the Chronicle: 'Geographies of Power in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: The Royal Estates of Anglo-Saxon Wessex', this volume, pp. 195–200.

<sup>50</sup> Dumville, 'A Bilingual English/Latin Chronicle', p. 125.

<sup>51</sup> For an introduction to translators' habits of 'explicitation', see Ivana Djordjević, 'Original and Translation: Bevis's Mother in Anglo-Norman and Middle English', in *Cultural Encounters in the Romance of Medieval England*, ed. by Corinne Saunders, Studies in Medieval Romance, 2 (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 11–26 (p. 12 and n. 2).

<sup>52</sup> On Henry of Huntingdon's expansion of the Chronicle, see Greenway, 'Authority, Convention and Observation', pp. 108–09; Nancy F. Partner, *Serious Entertainments: The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England* (Chicago, 1977), pp. 206–07. On *amplificatio* in general, see Ruth Morse, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation, and Reality* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 63–72.

<sup>53</sup> 'Pretended to vomit'.

striking example occurs in 993. E and F's English annal tell us that 'com to Humbran muðe se here 7 þær mycel yfel gewrohtan'; F's Latin text expands the detail in accordance with a familiar formula for Danish violence: 'uenit exercitus in ostium fluminis Humbrę et multa mala ibi <perpetrauit>, occidendo, depredando et ad ultimum omnia igne consumendo'.<sup>54</sup> The combination of killing or harrying with burning, usually in variants of the phrase 'hergodon 7 slogon 7 bærndon', is a particular feature of the Æthelredian Chronicle not characteristic of accounts of Viking violence in the ninth-century annals.<sup>55</sup> F's Latin text displays a less conservative sense of Chronicle style than its English; nonetheless, it is shaped by a detailed sensitivity and fidelity to the conventions of the source. The Latin brings us close to the F-scribe as an individual who reads and composes in the conditions of a multilingual monastery, but speaks not as an individual but as the confident performer of tradition.

Turning to editing policy, again we see how the very changes made to the source demonstrate the compiler's absorption of priorities already embedded in the Chronicle, though also reflecting his interests as a monk. Comparing F as a whole to E, we see that F for the most part follows the contours of √E, abbreviating short and long annals alike.<sup>56</sup> The principles of selection are illustrated in some of the shortest annals. Here are the entries for 710, 822 (819E), and 828; the text is that of E, with material included in F in bold:

**Her Acca Wilferðes preost feng to þam biscopdome þe he ær heold.** 7 þam ilcan gearfeohht Beorhtfrið ealdorman wið Pyhtas betwix Hæfe 7 Cære, 7 Ine 7 Nun his mæi gefuhton wið Gerent Weala cininge; 7 þam ilcan gear man ofsloh Hygebald. (710)<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> 'The army came to the mouth of the Humber and there did great harm', 993E (F has variant spellings); 'the army came to the mouth of the river Humber and there did much harm, killing, plundering, and at last destroying everything with fire', 993F.

<sup>55</sup> 'They harried and slew and burned'; see *s.a.* 997, 1001, 1003, 1004, 1006, 1009, 1010, etc. Harrying and/or slaying and burning first become prominent in the Chronicle as Danish tactics in the late tenth century. Before 997CDE there are no references to Danes burning, though burning was used as a siege tactic against them at Chester in 894 (893A, 894BCD). Data gathered using 'Dictionary of Old English: Old English Corpus', <<http://ets.umdl.umich.edu/o/oec/>> [accessed 12 June 2006].

<sup>56</sup> Baker, *MS F*, pp. xxix–xxx.

<sup>57</sup> 'Here Acca Wilferth's priest succeeded to the bishopric that he [Wilferth] held before. And the same year Ealdorman Beorhtfrith fought against the Picts between the Avon and the Carron, and Ine and his kinsman Nun fought against Geraint, king of the Welsh; and in the same year Hygebald was killed.' DE have a longer version of this annal than ABC.

**Her Cenwulf Myrcena cining forðferde, 7 Ceolwulf feng to rice; 7 Eadberht ealdorman forðferde.** (819E, 822F)<sup>58</sup>

**Her Wiglaf eft onfeng** Myrcena rice [F: his rices]; **7 Aðelbald biscop forðferde.** 7 þy ilcan geare Ecgþriht cining lædde fyrde on Norðwealas, 7 he heom ealle to eadmodere hyrsumnesse gedyde. (828)<sup>59</sup>

The deaths and successions of bishops and kings are preferred to battles and conquests, ecclesiastical affairs are preferred to secular, and the doings of kings are preferred to those of ealdormen. Both the first two trends are strikingly evident, as Baker points out, in the annals for the early tenth century; here the F-scribe could have augmented the very thin record in √E with A's full account of the campaigns of Edward the Elder, but in fact took from A only some material on the deaths of churchmen.<sup>60</sup> Such ecclesiastical bias is of a piece with the specific interest in Canterbury affairs discussed above. In further illustration of the F-scribe's preference for kings over ealdormen, 837ABCDE lists a series of battles fought by ealdormen and is missing in F, while the annal for 840, noting a battle of King Æthelwulf, is retained and augmented from a Norman source with a notice of the death of Louis the Pious. Similarly, in 871 F skips the first battle of the entry, fought by Ealdorman Æthelwulf, but includes all the battles fought by King Æthelred and his brother Alfred.

The F-scribe's fondness for bishops and kings thus seems to be a genuine editorial policy, but it also reflects a familiar tendency in the chronicle genre at large and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in particular. Notices of deaths and successions are hammers and nails in the formulaic toolbox of the Chronicle.<sup>61</sup> Janet Bately has suggested that the compilation of the Common Stock involved fitting dates and events into a regnal framework.<sup>62</sup> Regnal lists and royal genealogies played a role as

<sup>58</sup> 'Here Cenwulf, king of the Mercians, died, and Ceolwulf succeeded to the kingdom; and Ealdorman Eadberht died.'

<sup>59</sup> 'Here Wiglaf again obtained the kingdom of the Mercians [F: his kingdom]; and Bishop Athelbald died. And the same year King Egbert led an expedition against the North Welsh, and he reduced all of them to humble submission.'

<sup>60</sup> See 902A, 903F (F also drew on a Latin chronicle from Winchester: Baker, *MS F*, p. xlviii); 908A, 909F; 909A, 910F (F's material on Edward's acquisition of London and Oxford in this annal is an abbreviation of the entry in √E; though F agrees with 911A in having *hierdon* against E's *gebyredon*, F agrees with E in the dating of the entry and in word order). For comments on the F-scribe's use of A, see Baker, *MS F*, p. xliii.

<sup>61</sup> See Stodnick, 'Sentence to Story', pp. 98–99.

<sup>62</sup> Bately, *TTR*, pp. 33–35.

sources,<sup>63</sup> and Chronicle manuscripts A and B, both at Canterbury around 1100, both included the West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List as well as lists of bishops and popes.<sup>64</sup> In the examples given above it will also be noted that F preserves the beginning of each entry: the source annals already signal an order of priority in their arrangement of material, and F follows that order.

As not merely a truncated copy but an active remaking of the styles and preoccupations of the Chronicle, the F-text is a conscious continuation of vernacular chronicling tradition, while also bearing witness to the institutional perspective of Christ Church and even, more in the cracks of the text than in its voice, to the individual who wrote it. In the way it changes and mimics the pre-Conquest Chronicle, F is an instance of the transmission of cultural Englishness across the divide of the Conquest. A useful image here is Richard Dawkins's concept of the meme, as discussed by Mary Orr: the stuff of cultural evolution is replication of ideas, words, or other cultural forms, but not as 'exact copy, empty mime or replica', for 'all successful replicators include noticeable variation'.<sup>65</sup> The complexity of F's relationship to  $\sqrt{E}$  reveals the process of cultural reproduction as situated, messy, human, even while the text itself avoids the personal voice. In the  $\mathcal{A}$ ethelredian Chronicle the personal voice contributes not just to a sense of Englishness but to the portrayal of English character and relations within the English people. The next section of this paper moves from the sense of cultural Englishness that F seems to embody to the way the English are portrayed in its  $\mathcal{A}$ ethelredian annals.

First, despite its detached manner, F makes a connection between the events of  $\mathcal{A}$ ethelred's reign and the twelfth-century present. In the annal for 979, following the notice of the death of Edward the Martyr, F's Latin text diverges from E (here agreeing with D) and from F's Old English entry:

<sup>63</sup> See David N. Dumville, 'The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List and the Chronology of Early Wessex', *Peritia*, 4 (1985), 21–66 (pp. 32–34).

<sup>64</sup> See Bately, *MS A*, pp. xvi–xvii, xviii, and xlii–xliii: the lists of bishops and popes are in a tenth-century hand but extended by the same hand that wrote the *Annals of Lanfranc* after 1093 — not the F-scribe, but probably his contemporary; Taylor, *MS B*, pp. xviii–xxii; David N. Dumville, 'The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List: Manuscripts and Texts', *Anglia*, 104 (1986), 1–32 (pp. 5 and 8–9). David Dumville, 'What Is a Chronicle?', in *Medieval Chronicle II*, ed. by Kooper, pp. 1–27 (p. 9) remarks on the generic relationship between chronicles and lists of consuls, kings, and deaths.

<sup>65</sup> Mary Orr, *Intertextuality: Debates and Contexts* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 95–105, quotations p. 105. Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene*, 30th Anniversary edn (Oxford, 2006), pp. 192–201.

Eodem anno Ædelredus successit fratri suo in regnum. Tempore suo multa mala uenerunt in Angliam, et postea semper \hucusque/ creuerunt.<sup>66</sup>

This hints at the idea, explicit in other sources, that the Danish invasions and even the Norman Conquest were punishments for the murder of Edward. Osbern's *Vita S. Dunstani* is the earliest text to include the story, also told by Eadmer, William of Malmesbury, and John of Worcester, that at Æthelred's coronation St Dunstan prophesied divine vengeance in the form of prolonged violence and conquest.<sup>67</sup> Eadmer in his version of the scene remarks that this came to pass 'ut et in cronicis legimus et hodie videmus'.<sup>68</sup> Although, illustrating an often-mentioned difference between chronicle and narrative history, 979F makes no explicit statement about causation, it shows a capacity to trace patterns in the past.<sup>69</sup> F's annals for 983–1016 do less than the CDE Æthelredian Chronicle to explore the tension of unity and fragmentation within the English people; rather, they highlight one important theme, the role of individual traitors. This change makes apparent the difficulty of drawing the line between style and content. Much of the shift in focus towards traitors could be read as a byproduct of *abbreviatio*. On the other hand, the theme of treachery is a pattern other writers picked out as they reworked the Chronicle into useful history.

The two main trends that contribute to the shift in focus are the loss of the personal narrator and the avoidance of the general, analytical, or descriptive in favour of the particular and concrete. Since the sense of immediacy and personal involvement in the Æthelredian Chronicle contributes vitally to how it conveys

<sup>66</sup> 'In the same year his brother Æthelred succeeded to the kingdom. In his time many evils came upon England, and afterwards they always increased up to the present.'

<sup>67</sup> Osbern, *Vita Sancti Dunstani*, ed. by William Stubbs, in *Memorials of Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*, RS, 63 (London, 1874), pp. 69–128 (c. 37, pp. 114–15); Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Dunstani*, ed. by William Stubbs, in *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, pp. 162–222 (c. 35, p. 215); Eadmer, *History of Recent Events in England / Historia Novorum in Anglia*, trans. by Geoffrey Bosanquet with a foreword by R. W. Southern (London, 1964), pp. 3–4, i.3; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. by R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998), I, 268–69, Book I, Chapter 164; *John of Worcester*, II, 484–85, s.a. 1016. For discussion of this episode, see Keynes, 'Declining Reputation', pp. 236–37.

<sup>68</sup> 'As we both read in chronicles and see today': Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Dunstani*, c. 35, p. 215. Osbern has a similar remark on the evidence of annals and contemporary experience in relation to a further prophecy of Dunstan: Osbern, *Vita Sancti Dunstani*, c. 39, p. 117.

<sup>69</sup> See Sarah Foot, 'Finding the Meaning of Form: Narrative in Annals and Chronicles', in *Writing Medieval History*, ed. by Nancy Partner (London, 2005), pp. 88–108 (pp. 89–92).

tensions of unity and disintegration, identification and disaffection, action and suffering, the balder narration of F almost inevitably produces a flatter, more homogeneous construction of the English. Especially significant for the emphasis on traitors, however, is the excision of passages that relate parts of the nation to the whole and depict muddle and incompetence: the section of the annal for 1010 discussed above is cut, for example, as are the whole annal for 998, with its account of armies being repeatedly gathered and always fleeing ‘þurh sum þing’, and the passage on the delay in deploying the ships in 999 (‘þa elkede man fram dæge to dæge 7 swencte þet earne folc þe on ðam scipon lagon’, 999E).<sup>70</sup> These passages describe the trend of events vividly but are unspecific about names and locations. F’s stylistic preference for the specific means that individual wrongdoers are kept in its record in preference to the wider malaise of the people.

There are signs that the emphasis on traitors is the product of deliberate selection and not simply of pruning generalizations and descriptive detail. The most striking evidence is the recasting of the climactic annal for 1016. F deletes Edmund’s embarrassing attempts to assemble a *fyrd*, omits his harrying of Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Leicester, and collapses the two sieges of London into one with elision of the engagements in between them, thus giving relatively greater prominence to the ill-advised rapprochement with Eadric and his flight at Ashingdon. Instead of a precarious and sometimes savage attempt to regain control of the country, Edmund’s campaign, much truncated, looks pretty promising until Eadric ensures English defeat. Elsewhere the F-scribe adds comments that underscore the iniquity of traitors. In 1017 he remarks approvingly that Eadric was killed ‘swyðe rihlice’ (in the Latin, *iustissime*).<sup>71</sup> In 992, the traitor Ælfric is described as ‘an of þan þa se cing hæfde mæst truwe to’.<sup>72</sup>

The F-text’s approach is thus focused on elite figures and pays less attention than the Æthelredian Chronicle to the people as a whole. Though this looks like an important shift, given scholarly doubts about whether medieval ethnicities really extended to the lower classes of society,<sup>73</sup> I would suggest it is symptomatic not of a change in the conception of the *gens* but of the way that traditions tended to grow up around memorable individuals and of the medieval urge to trace moral

<sup>70</sup> ‘Through some thing’; ‘then there was delay from day to day and it afflicted the wretched people who lay on the ships.’

<sup>71</sup> ‘Very rightly’; ‘most justly’.

<sup>72</sup> ‘One of those in whom the king had most trust’; Latin: ‘in quo rex magis confidebat’.

<sup>73</sup> See p. 116 and note 14 above.

patterns in the past. The interest in the traitors of Æthelred's reign is a point of similarity between F and twelfth-century histories. It is clear that a body of hostile tradition had attached to Eadric especially. His role as scapegoat was already being elaborated in the mid-eleventh-century *Encomium Emmae Reginae*.<sup>74</sup> John of Worcester, in particular, expands on the treachery of Eadric and others. He also makes less than CDE of the general incompetence and disunity of the English; like F, he omits the remarks in 1010 on how the armies are always in the wrong place and no shire will help the next.<sup>75</sup> There is no direct source relationship between John of Worcester and F, though Martin Brett thought John used a set of Latin annals related to those in F.<sup>76</sup> Rather, John and the F-scribe both picked out the same theme in the Æthelredian Chronicle as offering a promising line of explanation for defeat coupled to a source of moral examples. They may both also draw specifically on Canterbury tradition: John borrows a pungent description of Eadric's character word for word from Osbern's *Vita S. Elphegi* (written after 1080).<sup>77</sup> It is in such sharpening and shaping of history that we see the effect of distance in time on F. The subtlety of the Æthelredian Chronicle's account, born of immediacy and witness seemingly to an urge to explore as much as explain, is a casualty of this process.

So far, the emphasis of this paper has been on listening for the 'human noise' of F through, and not simply in spite of, the effects of *abbreviatio*. However, F adds to

<sup>74</sup> *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. by Alistair Campbell, Camden 3rd Series, 72 (London, 1949; repr. with a supplementary introduction by Simon Keynes, Cambridge, 1998), pp. 24–33, Book II, Chapters 8, 9, and 12–13.

<sup>75</sup> *John of Worcester*: on Eadric, annals 1006, 1007, 1009, 1015, 1016, 1017; *s.a.* 1008 (equivalent to 1009EF), John emphasizes the treacherous character of Brihtric rather than the neglect of the king and *witan* in abandoning the levies.

<sup>76</sup> Brett, 'John of Worcester and his Contemporaries', pp. 123–24. R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk suggest 'an F version' was used in the compilation of the so-called *chronicula*: 'The "Chronicon ex Chronicis" of "Florence" of Worcester and its Use of Sources for English History before 1066', *ANS*, 5 (1982), 185–96 (p. 195). Neither Brett nor Darlington and McGurk give details and the topic awaits elucidation in volume I of McGurk's edition.

<sup>77</sup> 'Omnes id temporis mortales tum invidia atque perfidia, tum superbia & crudelitate superaverat' ('He surpassed all men of that time, both in malice and in treachery and in arrogance and cruelty'): Osbern, *Vita S. Elphegi*, ed. by Henry Wharton, in *Anglia sacra, sive, Collectio historiarum partim antiquitus, partim recentior scriptarum*, 2 vols (London, 1691), II, 122–43 (p. 132); *John of Worcester*, II, 460–61, *s.a.* 1007. Translation from *John of Worcester*. Dorothy Whitelock suggested John might have been indebted to a lost saga on Eadric: Whitelock, *ASC*, p. 97, n. 3.

√E as well as shortening it. Any examination of style or identity in F's Æthelredian annals needs to take into account the lengthy insertion in the annal for 995, a comparatively elaborate account of the replacement of Christ Church's canons by monks at the hands of Archbishop Ælfric. 995F brings together issues of institutional and national identity, narrative perspective, and the Chronicle as a vehicle for making connections with and drawing lessons from the past. Moreover, it has no known source and may be the F-scribe's own composition (as may the related insertion at 870, which shares with 995F the unusual distinction of incorporating direct speech). 995F offers plenty of material for the discussion of style and identity, but in some ways it jars with the annals around it: for example, the portrayal of Æthelred II, here shown offering 'se betsta ræd', is rather startling.<sup>78</sup>

Although focused on the F-scribe's own house, 995F employs the discourse of nationhood to promote its local agenda. The story resembles similar tales told about the New Minster at Winchester and about Worcester, and it particularly resembles the Worcester case in that it is one of a number of competing traditions about the monachization of Christ Church, all of which reconfigure what was probably a gradual process as a single dramatic purge.<sup>79</sup> However, the parameters of action are the full sweep of English territory and history. Of Ælfric we are told that 'nas nan snotere man on Englalande'.<sup>80</sup> He consults men 'þa cuþan þæt soðuste seggan hu ælc þing werde on þis lande be heora ylðran dagan',<sup>81</sup> and they refer him to Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, here called simply the *Ystoria Anglorum*, 'The History of the English'.

<sup>78</sup> 'The best counsel'.

<sup>79</sup> On the competing traditions about the reform of Christ Church, see Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church at Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester, 1984), pp. 255–60; for earlier views which tend to give more (though not complete) credence to 995F, see J. Armitage Robinson, 'The Early Community at Christ Church, Canterbury', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 27 (1926), 225–40 (p. 240); M. D. Knowles, 'The Early Community at Christ Church, Canterbury', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 39 (1938), 126–31 (pp. 126–27); and Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066: A Constitutional History* (London, 1963), pp. 101–03 and p. 103, n. 4. On Worcester, see Barrow, 'How the Twelfth-Century Monks of Worcester Perceived their Past'. For the possible influence of the New Minster tradition on 995F, see Baker, *MS F*, p. xxxii, n. 10; the annal on the expulsion of the priests from Winchester is the F-scribe's addition to both F and, seemingly, √E (ibid., pp. xxxi–xxxii).

<sup>80</sup> 'There was no wiser man in England.'

<sup>81</sup> 'Who could most truly tell how everything came about in this land in the days of their ancestors.'

The annal forms a neat, self-contained narrative. Structurally, it sets up a parallel between the actions of Archbishop Ælfric and those of Augustine, the first Archbishop of Canterbury, founding Abbot of Christ Church, and evangelist of the Anglo-Saxons. This parallel is reinforced, especially in the Old English, by echoed phrases (the echoes are less exact in the Latin). In the first part of the annal, Archbishop Ælfric inquires into the monastic past of Christ Church and is told how Augustine sent to Rome for his pallium and for advice on whether to install monks at his new house. Augustine received the answer that both Christ Church and the bishop's throne should be held by monks, 'be Godes [leaf]e 7 bletsunge 7 be sancte Petrus 7 be ealra þa æfter him coman', at which Augustine and King Æthelbert of Kent were glad: 'hi wurðan \ðā/ swyðe blipe ðurh swilce wissunge'.<sup>82</sup> Ælfric is similarly delighted at his history lesson ('Ða was Ælfric arcebisceop swyðe blipe'), as is King Æthelred some lines later ('Ða wearþ se cing swyþe bliðe').<sup>83</sup> On Æthelred's wise suggestion, Ælfric goes to Rome for his pallium and the advice of the Pope. After an amusing episode in which the secular clerics of Christ Church race Ælfric to Rome and attempt to buy the pallium, the Pope grants it to the Archbishop and sends him back to England 'mid Godes bletsunga 7 sancte Petres 7 minre', instructing him to restore monks to Christ Church 'be Godes beboðe 7 sancte Petres 7 min[re]'.<sup>84</sup> These verbal echoes bind together not only the structure of the annal, but also the King and the Archbishop, under the authority and blessing of the Pope, and the present and the past.

The echoed phrases contribute to the construction of a concept of English identity. Much is made in this annal of the unity of archbishop, king, and people. Ælfric is appointed 'fram Ægelrede cinge 7 fram ealle his witan'.<sup>85</sup> Conversely, the Christ Church seculars are refused the pallium because 'hi ne brohtan nan gewrit, naþer na of þan cinge na of þan folce'.<sup>86</sup> The emphasis on written legal instruments and the insistence that archbishop and king work together invite comparison with the documents inserted by the F-scribe earlier in the text. 694F is based on a supposed grant of Wihtred of Kent, forged in the early ninth century to support the claims of Archbishop Wulfred and the Christ Church community to control over

<sup>82</sup> 'By God's leave and blessing and by St Peter's and by that of all who came after him'; 'they then became very glad at such instructions'.

<sup>83</sup> 'Then Archbishop Ælfric was very glad'; 'then the King became very glad'.

<sup>84</sup> 'With God's blessing and St Peter's and mine'; 'by God's command and St Peter's and mine'.

<sup>85</sup> 'By King Ægelred [*recte* Æthelred] and by all his witan'.

<sup>86</sup> 'They brought no writ, neither from the king nor from the people.'

the churches in their diocese without lay interference.<sup>87</sup> As Baker shows, the F-scribe revises the charter so that it asserts not only that abbots and abbesses should be appointed by bishops but that bishops should be appointed by archbishops.<sup>88</sup> 694F powerfully formulates a vision in which the roles of king and archbishop are comparable and complementary in conferring order on a hierarchical Christian society:

Cyngas sceolan settan eorlas 7 ealdormen, scirereuan 7 domesmenn, 7 arcebiscep sceal Godes gelaðunge wissian 7 rædan 7 biscopas 7 abbodas 7 abbedessan, preostas 7 diaconas ceosan 7 settan, halgian 7 getryman mid godan mynegunga 7 forebysene, þe læste þe æni of Godes heorde dwelie 7 losie.<sup>89</sup>

This passage is prominent in 694F as it is the conclusion of the Old English version of the annal; the Latin, here the original from which the Old English is derived — and thus the version that has been less processed by the F-scribe — continues with grants of privileges to Christ Church and Rochester, an anathema clause, and the subscriptions of Wihtried and Archbishop Brihtwold. 694F and 995F thus both show an expansion from a local focus to a concept of the English people as a Christian nation in which secular and ecclesiastical powers work together to promote Christian purity.

Given the open (if garbled) use of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* in this annal, and F's recourse to various works of Bede as sources elsewhere,<sup>90</sup> it is likely F's concept of English identity is influenced both directly and indirectly by Bede. Patrick Wormald has argued that Bede's history narrates the covenant of the English with God and that this story was central to the development of a sense of the English as a single people. Most relevant to F, Wormald stresses the role of Canterbury in adopting, disseminating, and preserving the idea that the English constituted a

<sup>87</sup> Brooks, *Early History of the Church at Canterbury*, pp. 191–97. The charter is S 22 (not 20, as Baker asserts, *MS F*, p. lvii); it survives as a single-sheet charter, *CS*, I, no. 91 at pp. 128–33, and in the Christ Church Cartulary, Fleming, 'Christ Church Canterbury's Anglo-Norman Cartulary', pp. 111–12, no. 7.

<sup>88</sup> Baker, *MS F*, pp. lxxvi–lxxviii.

<sup>89</sup> 'Kings must appoint earls and ealdormen, sheriffs and judges, and the archbishop must direct and counsel God's Church and choose and appoint bishops and abbots and abbesses, priests and deacons, consecrate and direct them with good admonishment and example, lest any of God's flock wander or be lost.' Helen Conrad O'Briain has pointed out to me that the use of *sculan* recalls Old English proverbial diction.

<sup>90</sup> Baker, *MS F*, pp. lv–lvii.

single church under the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>91</sup> The Canterbury perspective on history was simultaneously local and national, since Canterbury conceived itself as central to the story of the English people as a Christian nation.<sup>92</sup>

995F thus knits together the strands of English and institutional identity embedded in F, suggesting that they are mutually informing and not simply separate elements for the student to distinguish. Along with the earlier inserted annals, 995F advances a specific concept of English identity as membership of a hierarchically ordered Christian people. If it is the case that the annal is the F-scribe's own work, it also shows us its author as an effective and lively writer. We have seen that the narrative is attractively crafted, structural parallels reinforced by verbal echoes. The use of direct speech, anomalous in the Chronicle, not only adds colour but serves the polemical (pro-monastic) purpose of the story. For example, the wise men urge Ælfric to take his opportunity to expel the seculars:

Nu Gode ðanc ys hit on þas cinges anwealda 7 on þinum hwæðer hi leng þar binnan lengre  
beon motan, f[or]þon na m[ihte man] \hi/ næfre ut bet bringan þonne man nu mæi gif þas  
\cinges/ willa is 7 þin.<sup>93</sup>

The dramatic possibilities of the scene are exploited to freight the argument for the claims of the monks with the pious fervour of the wise men ('Gode ðanc') as well as the little cliff-hanger of the conditional clause (will it be 'þas cinges willa 7 þin?'). Stylistically, this can be viewed as a move towards history as opposed to chronicle, the invention of speeches for historical characters being part of the historian's persuasive repertoire.<sup>94</sup> However, the narrator remains self-effacing, offering virtually no evaluative or interpretative comment (the description of Ælfric as the

<sup>91</sup> Wormald, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas*', pp. 121–28.

<sup>92</sup> Antonia Gransden suggests that Eadmer's *Vita Dunstani* presents Christ Church history as a microcosm of English history: *Historical Writing in England*, p. 130. A further dimension of F's Canterbury perspective is an occasional slippage between England and Britain, doubtless reflecting the claim of the archbishops of Canterbury to be consecrated 'in primatem totius Britanniae' ('as primate of all Britain'; Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York 1066–1127*, ed. and trans. by Charles Johnson, rev. by M. Brett, C. N. L. Brooke, and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1990), pp. 12–13). For example, Ælfheah *s.a.* 1011 is described as 'caput totius Brytannię et Christianitatis' (head of all Britain and Christendom). This topic deserves fuller discussion than space allows in the present article.

<sup>93</sup> 'Now, thanks be to God, it is in the king's power and yours whether they are permitted to remain there any longer, because one will never be able better to get them out than one can now if it is the king's will and yours.'

<sup>94</sup> See Morse, *Truth and Convention*, p. 92; Greenway, 'Authority, Convention and Observation', pp. 109–10.

wisest man in England is the closest he gets). Why may this be, when the *Æthelredian Chronicle* is full of such comments?

One response is to observe that the narrative convinces quite adequately by 'showing' rather than 'telling'.<sup>95</sup> In addition, we can relate the impersonal narration to the way that the annal models a relationship to the past as a source of moral and legal authority. The verbal echoes that unify the annal contribute to a powerful sense that the past forms a blueprint for the present. 995F shows Ælfric and Æthelred deliberately imitating the actions of Augustine and Æthelbert, having consulted both written history and the memories of the wise (the consultation of both human and textual authorities being a commonplace of medieval historiography).<sup>96</sup> The annal thus prescribes how it should itself be read: it distils the authority of Augustine, Bede, Ælfric, and their informants and so reveals how the life of Christ Church, and the relationship of archbishop and king, should continue to be ordered. The reported speeches, while on the one hand declaring the skill of the historian, on the other hand dramatize the past speaking directly, and forcefully, to the present, without a narrator interposing. Once more a parallel is indicated with the documents incorporated at 694, 742, and 796.<sup>97</sup> Following charter conventions, the provisions of the documents are framed as speeches by, respectively, Wihtred, king of Kent, Æthelbald, king of Mercia, and Æthelard, archbishop of Canterbury (in this matter F simply follows its sources). The appearance of direct speech in charters reflects the origins of the form in oral declarations only secondarily recorded in writing; in Michael Clanchy's phrase, they 'made it possible for the grantor to address posterity'.<sup>98</sup> The inclusion of charters in F again emphasizes the past as a source of moral and legal authority.

<sup>95</sup> On 'mimetic' narrative, see Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, trans. by Jane E. Lewis with a foreword by Jonathan Culler (Ithaca, 1980; originally published as 'Discours du récit', in *Figures III* (Paris, 1972)), pp. 163–72.

<sup>96</sup> Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London, 2004), pp. 6–18. For parallels in the legal sphere, see Patrick J. Geary, 'Oblivion Between Orality and Textuality in the Tenth Century', in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. by Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick J. Geary (Washington, DC, 2002), pp. 111–22.

<sup>97</sup> On 694F see note 87 above; 742F is S 90, Fleming, 'Christ Church Canterbury's Anglo-Norman Cartulary', no. 9, pp. 113–14; 796F has no entry in Sawyer but appears as CS, I, no. 312 at pp. 434–37, and Fleming, 'Christ Church Canterbury's Anglo-Norman Cartulary', no. 14, pp. 117–18. Baker, *MS F*, pp. lvii–lviii.

<sup>98</sup> Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1993), p. 253.

This approach to the past constitutes a productive encounter between new and old elements in the generic development of the Chronicle. Direct borrowing of charter materials is a post-Conquest development seen also in the E-text.<sup>99</sup> On the other hand, as Jennifer Neville observes, the impersonal style of the early Chronicle (much balder and briefer than 995F, of course) is itself a strategy of authority: it contains an implicit claim to deliver unadorned, unmediated truth.<sup>100</sup> We can connect the conscious generic continuity evinced in the F-scribe's absorption of Chronicle style to the assertion of legal continuity contained in 995F, 870F, and the charters and to the interest in moral patterns in the treatment of Æthelred's reign. All of these involve treating the past as a source of models or lessons for the present. In a post-Conquest context, they construct English identity, arguing the continuity of three of Regino of Prüm's four characteristics of a people: customs, laws, and language (the fourth being common descent).<sup>101</sup> However, they represent a move away from the troubling immediacy of the Æthelredian Chronicle, in which the personal narration presents the (recent) past as a source not of authority but of shame and anger, not as a ground of identity but as its testing ground.

Attention to style in the Æthelredian Chronicle enriches our understanding of how that subchronicle constructs English identity by showing that the voice of the closely involved narrator is integral to the way the annals convey tensions of unity and disunity. Investigating the more detached style produced by *abbreviatio* in F's version of these annals, this essay has ranged through various aspects of identity in F, concentrating particularly on the absorption and reuse of Chronicle tradition by the F-scribe and the portrayal of the English in the Æthelredian section of F. Style and identity do not show the same neat reciprocal relationship I have argued for (with some inevitable simplification) in the Æthelredian Chronicle, even given the restriction to a particular portion of F. Rather, changes to style are caught up with other factors including institutional interests, which produce a kind of rhetorical swelling around annals relevant to Canterbury; genre; the forging of a morally and legally useful past; a continued sense of English identity; and the

<sup>99</sup> See Irvine, *MS E*, pp. xc–xcvi; but see Scott Thompson Smith, 'Marking Boundaries: Charters and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', this volume, on affinities with charters earlier in the Chronicle's history.

<sup>100</sup> Neville, 'Making their Own Sweet Time', p. 168.

<sup>101</sup> Regino of Prüm, 'Epistula ad Hathonem archiepiscopum missa', in *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, ed. by Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG, 50 (Hannover, 1890), pp. xix–xx (p. xx).

labours of the F-scribe to assemble, edit, and translate his materials. What we encounter in this complex of intersections is well conveyed by the metaphor of 'human noise': something warmer, less precise, and more multilayered than either an individual author or ethnicity.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> I am grateful for the comments of those who heard early versions of this article given as papers at the Centre for Medieval Studies, York, and the School of English, Trinity College, Dublin, and to all those who at various points have discussed the project with me. Joanna Huntington, Matt Townend, Christine Rauer, and Tom Jones gave help on specific points; Helen Conrad-O'Briain read two drafts and provided invaluable comments. All errors are my own.

Part II

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as History



## THE REPRESENTATION OF EARLY WEST SAXON HISTORY IN THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE

Barbara Yorke

In the twentieth century debate about the involvement of the Alfredian court in the production of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle moved full circle from Plummer's assumption of the King's direct interest in the work,<sup>1</sup> through the reservations of Stenton and Whitelock and the case for a private commissioner,<sup>2</sup> and back to an increasing willingness to see the work as part of a wider campaign orchestrated by King Alfred and his scholarly advisers, and especially to see its circulation as the result of 'official' intervention.<sup>3</sup> However, the circumstances in which the Chronicle came to be compiled are still unclear. The purpose of this paper is to examine the annals for the seventh and eighth centuries to see whether they can throw any light on these problems, and, in particular, whether there are within them signs of editorial interventions which could be seen to be in accordance with the preoccupations of the scholarly circle around King Alfred. Such an examination may also have implications for the utilization of the annals as a historical source.

<sup>1</sup> Earle and Plummer, II, p. civ.

<sup>2</sup> F. M. Stenton, 'The South-Western Element in the Old English Chronicle', in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to T. F. Tout*, ed. by A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke (Manchester, 1925), pp. 15–24; repr. in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England, Being the Collected Papers of Frank Merry Stenton*, ed. by Doris Mary Stenton (Oxford, 1970), pp. 106–15; Dorothy Whitelock, 'Introduction', in Whitelock, *ASC*, pp. xi–xxiv (pp. xxi–xxiii).

<sup>3</sup> R. H. C. Davis, 'Alfred the Great: Propaganda and Truth', *History*, 56 (1971), 169–82; Keynes and Lapidge, pp. 40–41; Richard Abels, *Alfred the Great: War, Kingship and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1998), pp. 16–19.

### *The Annal Entry for 755*

The unusually detailed entry under the year 755 has naturally attracted much attention, especially the central story of the attack by the Ætheling Cyneheard on King Cynewulf of Wessex in 786 with its evocations of heroic ethos and its saga-like themes that have often been thought to derive from oral tradition.<sup>4</sup> Discussion has therefore tended to concentrate on these events which resulted in the deaths of both protagonists and most of their supporters, but the account of the incident is enclosed by two others dated to 755, the deposition of King Sigebert of Wessex by Cynewulf and his subsequent murder, and the killing of King Æthelbald of Mercia, followed by the brief reign of Beornred and the accession of Offa. These events actually occurred in 757, and their entry under 755 is part of a two-year dislocation in the Chronicle archetype that began with the entry under 754 (*recte* 756) and continued up to the annal for 845.<sup>5</sup> The unusual length of the annal entered under 755 means that it is possible to discern more of the writer's attitudes towards its subject matter than is usually possible in the characteristically brief and laconic annal entries, though there have been differing views on where the moral standpoint towards the protagonists of the Cynewulf/Cyneheard incident lay. As Thomas Bredehoft has argued in an important recent study, the annal for 755 needs to be viewed not in isolation as an independent composition, but in the context of the preoccupations of other annals in the Chronicle text up to 890x92.<sup>6</sup> It is also illuminating to compare the examples of problematic West Saxon leadership with which we are presented in the 755 entry with commentary on this topic that is provided in other sources from the reign of Alfred, particularly the

<sup>4</sup> Major discussions include F. P. Magoun, 'Cynewulf, Cyneheard and Osric', *Anglia*, 57 (1933), 361–76; Francis Joseph Battaglia, 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 755: The Missing Evidence for a Traditional Reading', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 81 (1966), 173–78; R. McTurk, 'Cynewulf and Cyneheard and the Icelandic Sagas', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s., 12 (1980), 81–127; Karen Ferro, 'The King in the Doorway: The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 755', *Kings and Kingship, Acta*, 11 (1986), 17–30; Stephen D. White, 'Kinship and Lordship in Early Medieval England: The Story of Sigebert, Cynewulf and Cyneheard', *Viator*, 20 (1989), 1–18; John M. Hill, *The Anglo-Saxon Warrior Ethic: Reconstructing Lordship in Early English Literature* (Gainesville, 2000), pp. 74–92. For a fuller citation of references, see Harald Kleinschmidt, 'The Old English Annal for 757 and West Saxon Dynastic Strife', *Journal of Medieval History*, 22 (1996), 209–24, nn. 2–6.

<sup>5</sup> Whitelock, *ASC*, p. xxiv.

<sup>6</sup> Bredehoft, *TH*, pp. 39–60.

vernacular translations of Latin texts that often deal with issues of 'good' and 'bad' leadership.

### King Sigebert of Wessex (756–57)

The disapproval of the author of the 755 annal for King Sigebert is made immediately apparent through the statement that he was deposed by Cynewulf and the witan of the West Saxons because of his 'unjust acts'. An example follows of his regrettable behaviour when Sigebert kills the ealdorman 'who had stood by him longest', an act which led to him being driven into exile and his own subsequent death at the hands of a swineherd avenging the dead ealdorman — the low status of his killer is presumably intended to encapsulate it as a shameful death. The annal can be seen as consistent with the view, promoted in the Old English translation of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, that it was permissible, if not a positive duty, to rise up against tyrannical kings, one of whose characteristics was that they committed 'private deeds of savage cruelty'.<sup>7</sup> As Janet Nelson has shown, the Alfredian Boethius modified the text of the original by replacing Boethius's protestations of innocence of conspiracy against Theodoric with the portrayal of him as a loyal citizen who had justly attempted to replace an unrighteous king with a righteous one.<sup>8</sup> In the 755 annal the rightness of Cynewulf's actions is underscored by the fact that he acted in consort with the witan. The reference to the involvement of the witan is an unusual feature not to be found in any other annal of the 890x92 section of the Chronicle, but one which conforms with Alfred's own procedures. The text of his laws and the treaty with Guthrum are careful to record that they are made with the support of the witan,<sup>9</sup> and so, even more relevantly for the passage considered here, are accounts of Alfred's own succession and the arrangements that he made with his brother Æthelred concerning the family's estates that can be found in Asser's biography and the King's own will. Like Cynewulf's, Alfred's accession could be seen as having occurred in potentially dubious circumstances for there were rival candidates in the form of his two nephews, the sons of his brother and predecessor Æthelred. Asser in his *Life of King Alfred* is at

<sup>7</sup> *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae*, ed. by Walter John Sedgefield (Oxford, 1899), p. 40.

<sup>8</sup> Janet L. Nelson, 'The Political Ideas of Alfred of Wessex', in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Anne J. Duggan (London, 1993), pp. 125–58 (pp. 152–54).

<sup>9</sup> Keynes and Lapidge, pp. 163–64 and 171.

pains to stress on several occasions that Alfred had been recognized officially as *secundarius* (heir apparent) before Æthelred's death.<sup>10</sup> The will deals with the related topic of the inheritance of the family lands that underpinned the power of Alfred's branch of the royal house.<sup>11</sup> In his will Alfred evokes the support of the witan for the agreement made with Æthelred at *Swinbeorg* that 'whichever of us lived longer should succeed both to the lands and to the treasures and to all the other's possessions' which in the event denied a share of that inheritance to Æthelred's own sons.<sup>12</sup> A subsequent meeting of the witan at *Langandene* after Alfred's accession upheld the earlier agreement when it was challenged by, one presumes, Alfred's nephews, and Alfred made his own depositions in his will in the presence of a third meeting of the witan.

### King Cynewulf of Wessex (757–86)

The author of the 755 annal shows that Cynewulf succeeded to the throne in lawful circumstances, and the reference to him often fighting great battles against the Britons can be taken as a further sign of approbation. Such approval has led some commentators to assume that Cynewulf was also the hero of the account of the clash with Cyneheard, but consideration of that incident suggests that Cynewulf belonged to the category of a 'good' king who had a fatal flaw. Cyneheard's attack is said to have been made when Cynewulf was visiting a woman at the royal estate of *Meretun*; a reference to an unnamed woman is so unusual in the Chronicle annals that it commands attention. It is usually assumed that this *wif* was his mistress,<sup>13</sup> but the main point that is emphasized is that Cynewulf's desire to be alone with her allowed Cyneheard to attack him when he was unprotected and led to the unnecessary deaths of his men when they tried to come to his aid. Cynewulf shared his fatal flaw with Ulysses, and Susan Irvine has shown how the story of

<sup>10</sup> *Asser*, Chapters 29, 38, and 42.

<sup>11</sup> Patrick Wormald, 'On *þa wæpnedhealf*: Kingship and Royal Property from Æthelwulf to Edward the Elder', in Higham and Hill, pp. 264–79.

<sup>12</sup> Keynes and Lapidge, pp. 174–78; *Charters of the New Minster, Winchester*, ed. by Sean Miller, British Academy, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 9 (Oxford, 2001), pp. 3–12. Æthelred's sons received only the lands given to Æthelred and Alfred during the reign of their brother Æthelbald.

<sup>13</sup> For a contrary view, see Donald Scragg, 'Wifcyþpe and the Morality of the Cynewulf and Cyneheard Episode in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of her Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. by Jane Roberts and Janet L. Nelson, with Malcolm Godden (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 179–86.

Ulysses and Circe was recast in the translation of Boethius to present him in just this light as a leader who betrayed both himself and his men because of his lust for a woman.<sup>14</sup> Alfred's own fear that he might fall victim to his sexual desires is brought out in Asser's account of the onset of his original illness and can be interpreted within the competing expectations of masculinity in the late ninth century.<sup>15</sup>

### Cyneheard Ætheling

Cyneheard was the brother of King Sigebert, and his actions could therefore have been interpreted as revenge for his brother's removal from the throne and subsequent death, but the compiler of the annal has chosen not to present them in this way. The speech in which Cyneheard attempts to win Cynewulf's men to his own side makes it clear that the attack was part of his own bid for the throne, and an explanation for him acting when he did is provided by the statement that Cynewulf was seeking to expel him from the kingdom. As Cynewulf is not presented as a tyrannical king the reader of the annal was presumably not expected to approve of Cyneheard's behaviour. He would in fact have been guilty under clauses 1 and 4 of Alfred's laws of plotting the death of the king, and, in a not dissimilar way to Cynewulf, his own reckless behaviour brought down his men who followed him and so were also guilty of betraying their king. Chapter 42 of the laws, as has often been remarked, seems to deal in some detail with circumstances that sound very similar to that of the 755 annal in which a man with a grievance besieges his enemy in his own home and is enjoined not to 'have recourse to violence before demanding justice of him'.<sup>16</sup> The correct procedure to be followed in such cases is laid down. Therefore Cyneheard, according to the laws of Alfred's reign, had not even followed the correct procedures for grievances against an ordinary individual and had compounded his behaviour by attacking the King himself: an action which was

<sup>14</sup> Susan Irvine, 'Ulysses and Circe in King Alfred's *Boethius*: A Classical Myth Transformed', in *Studies in English Language and Literature: 'Doubt Wisely'. Papers in Honour of E. G. Stanley*, ed. by M. J. Toswell and E. M. Tyler (London, 1996), pp. 387–401.

<sup>15</sup> Asser, Chapter 74; Janet L. Nelson, 'Monks, Secular Men and Masculinity c. 900', in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. by D. M. Hadley (Harlow, 1999), pp. 121–42.

<sup>16</sup> *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, ed. and trans. by F. L. Attenborough (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 82–85; Keynes and Lapidge, pp. 168–70.

completely condemned in the laws, and only permissible (according to the viewpoint of the writer of the 755 annal) if sanctioned by the witan.

### **Ealdorman Osric and the Nobles Serving Cynewulf and Cyneheard**

The correct behaviour in the circumstances of the 755 annal is shown by Ealdorman Osric and his followers who came to the aid of King Cynewulf and refused the offer of safe conduct from their kinsmen supporting Cyneheard with the explanation 'that no kinsman was dearer to them than their lord, and they would never serve his slayer'. These sentiments were fully in keeping with clause 42 of Alfred's laws where it was forbidden to support a kinsman against one's lord. Osric and his thegn Wigfrith are the only named individuals in the story of Cyneheard's attack on Cynewulf who behave correctly according to the expectations of the laws of Alfred. It is possible that this Osric was related to King Alfred's family. One possibility is that he belonged to Alfred's maternal kin who favoured leading names in *Os*. Ealdorman Osferth, described as 'kinsman', who received grants of land in Alfred's will and seems to have been a major figure at the royal court in the latter part of his reign, may have been one of these maternal relatives.<sup>17</sup> However, one can also note an Ætheling Oswald who appears in annals for 726 and 730, and appears to have contested the throne unsuccessfully with Æthelheard on the death of Ine. As the genealogy entered in the 726 annal shows, this Oswald was (like Alfred's line) descended from Ceawlin. As Oswald's descent is given, whereas Æthelheard's is not, one can presume that from the point of view from which the annals have been compiled Oswald was the worthier candidate. So if Ealdorman Osric of the 755 annal was related to that Oswald he, too, would have been a descendant of Ceawlin, and so have been of the same branch of the royal house as Ine and Alfred.

There may therefore have been a particular reason for highlighting the role of Osric in the reign of Alfred. But the bravery and loyalty of all the followers of Cynewulf and Cyneheard seems to be acknowledged in the text, and the men in the service of the latter are shown to be just as loyal to their lord and made to utter similar sentiments — the problem being, of course, that their lord was disloyal to the King. Thomas Bredehoft has shown that the use of *litterae notabiliores* in several of the Chronicle manuscripts seems to draw particular attention to the

<sup>17</sup> Janet L. Nelson, 'Reconstructing a Royal Family: Reflections on Alfred from Asser, Chapter 2', in *People and Places in Northern Europe, 500–1000*, ed. by Ian Wood and Niels Lund (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 47–66.

refusal of the men of Cynheard to accept the offer of safe passage.<sup>18</sup> The men of his *comitatus* had been placed in an impossible situation according to their codes of honour, but by the ninth century these *mores* could be seen, the annal compiler may have hoped, as belonging to a distant past when succession disputes had been solved by adversaries battling it out rather than assenting to the rulings of the witan and recognizing the primacy of kingship over other forms of lordship.

### **The Mercian Rulers**

The brief notice of Mercian affairs that ends the annal contains, through the reporting of the murder of Æthelbald and the 'unhappy' reign of Beornred, further condemnation of the illegitimate ways of the past in which reigns might be ended by violence and usurpers take the throne. The notice of the accession of Offa and his son and successor Ecgrith is made without comment, though the detailed genealogy of Offa's descent from Woden can be seen as confirmation of his legitimate claim to the throne; in contrast nothing is said of Beornred's descent.

### **Conclusion: 755 Annal**

The 755 annal seems to exemplify sentiments found in other sources written in the reign of King Alfred on good and bad kings and their followers, and the circumstances and procedures in which it was or was not permissible to take action against a king whose behaviour was unsatisfactory. Its method of using vignettes to exemplify moral points recalls the use of historical and classical figures in the Old English translation of Boethius from the reign of Alfred, and the commentary on Anglo-Saxon rulers provided by Asser in his biography. In fact between them the author of the 755 entry in the Chronicle and Asser managed to demonstrate the unsuitability of all the West Saxon rulers of the second half of the eighth century who, we may presume, were descended from different branches of the royal house than Alfred, and to hint at the unsatisfactory nature of the Mercian monarchy. Asser and the 755 entry complement each other in this task. The 755 entry cast aspersions on Sigebert and Cynewulf of Wessex, and Æthelbald and Beornred of Mercia. The Chronicle does not, however, include the incident of Beorhtric's murder that is utilized by Asser to blacken the reputation not only of Beorhtric,

<sup>18</sup> Bredehoft, *TH*, pp. 53–59.

but also that of his Mercian wife Eadburh and, by implication, that of his father-in-law Offa.<sup>19</sup> It is also only Asser who provides the information about Æthelbald's rebellion against his father Æthelwulf and his subsequent marriage to his stepmother.<sup>20</sup> Anyone reading the Chronicle receives the impression that after Æthelwulf's death his two sons, Æthelbald and Æthelbert, succeeded him in the normal fashion. Such a rebellion of a son against his father was another form of political behaviour condemned through classical analogies in the translation of Boethius.<sup>21</sup>

The nuanced presentation of the compiler of the 755 annals has more in common with the fuller annals from the latter part of Alfred's reign than with the other eighth-century annals of the Chronicle which are much briefer and rarely suggest how an event is to be interpreted. Janet Bately has shown that the vocabulary of the 755 annal is different from that of other eighth-century and earlier annals, but that it has points in common with the work of her 'first Alfredian annalist' who provided the annals for the 870s and may also have composed the extended annal for 855 with its long genealogy of Alfred's father Æthelwulf.<sup>22</sup> That annal is exactly one hundred years after the one entered under 755,<sup>23</sup> and a deliberate decision may have been taken on the relative placing of the two entries during a period of editing. The 755 annal ends with the genealogy of Offa, and that of 855 with an even more impressive genealogy for Æthelwulf. Taken together the two annals stress the unsuitability of Alfred's West Saxon predecessors to rule (and perhaps of systems of succession in existence at the time) and the superiority of Æthelwulf and his descendants. It was left to Asser to stress that only one of Æthelwulf's sons possessed the ideal qualities needed for rulership in ninth-century Wessex.

### *The 'Rebellion' of Æthelwold in 899/900*

Concerns about the succession seem to have been apparent in the latter years of Alfred's reign, and he took various steps to ensure the support of the witan for the succession of his own son Edward rather than the older sons of his brother

<sup>19</sup> Asser, Chapters 14–15.

<sup>20</sup> Asser, Chapters 12 and 17.

<sup>21</sup> Nelson, 'Political Ideas', pp. 149–50.

<sup>22</sup> Janet Bately, 'The Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 60 BC to AD 890: Vocabulary as Evidence', *PBA*, 64 (1978), 93–129 (pp. 106–16).

<sup>23</sup> Bredehoft, *TH*, pp. 40 and 60–61.

Æthelred.<sup>24</sup> As a result when Alfred died in 899 he was immediately succeeded by Edward, and Edward's cousin Æthelwold, like Cyneheard in the 755 annal, presumably felt that he was left with no alternative but to attempt a coup if he was to make good his own claim to the throne. The account of Æthelwold's action in an annal entry for 900 has a number of echoes of the 755 annal,<sup>25</sup> and must surely have been written with it in mind by someone who shared the political attitudes that underpinned it. It is stressed that Æthelwold is an ætheling acting against the will of the King (Edward) and the witan. Æthelwold tries to establish his claim by seizing the royal vill of Wimborne and Twinham (now Christchurch, Dorset) just as Cyneheard had made his stand in the royal vill of *Meretun*. Æthelwold barricades the gates, like Cyneheard, and states that he would either live or die there. An additional detail appears to link Æthelwold with the moral weakness that had brought down Cynewulf for he is also said to have had with him an unnamed woman, and Æthelwold's moral laxity is apparently emphasized through the additional information that 'he had taken [her] without the king's permission and contrary to the bishop's orders — for she had been consecrated a nun'. Æthelwold is therefore condemned by being shown to have combined the failings of Cyneheard and Cynewulf, but he did not, like them, go down fighting (at least not in 900) for 'he stole away' and joined up with the Danish army. When the 755 annal was composed and added to the Chronicle, it may have had the purpose not only of undermining previous kings, but of condemning any future attempts to take the throne by force that were not approved by the witan. For however much Alfred and his close associates may have hoped that the old ways of rival candidates fighting it out for the throne had passed, they probably also anticipated that Æthelwold might attempt to overturn Alfred's arrangements, just as Alfred's brother Æthelbald had been prepared to use force against their father.

*The Chronicle Annals of the Seventh and Eighth Centuries: Significant Additions and Omissions*

The 755 annal can be seen as quite distinct from other Chronicle entries for the seventh and eighth centuries, and was possibly added to the annals by the same annalist who provided the extended entry for 855. Other annals cannot be examined in the same way for connections with the political ideas to be found in other

<sup>24</sup> Barbara Yorke, 'Edward as Ætheling', in Higham and Hill, pp. 25–39.

<sup>25</sup> Bredehoft, *TH*, pp. 61–63.

texts from Alfred's reign for they are too brief and enigmatic. However, there is one other entry which stands out because of the unusual nature of its subject matter and its particular relevance to the family of Alfred. It is the entry for 718:

Her Ingild forþferde Ines broþur, 7 hiera swostur waerun Cuenburg 7 Cupbur[g], 7 sio Cupburg þæt liif æt Winburnan aræde, 7 hio wæs forgifen Norþanhymbra cyninge Aldferpe, 7 hie be him lifgendum hie gedældun.<sup>26</sup>

There are a number of noteworthy features about this annal entry. It is unusual among the other seventh- and eighth-century Chronicle annals in recording the non-violent death of an ætheling.<sup>27</sup> Ingild was, of course, of great significance to Alfred for, as other genealogies included in the Chronicle demonstrate, he was one of Alfred's own direct male ancestors. Alfred's line had an embarrassing lack of direct male ancestors who had ruled as kings of Wessex and appear in the West Saxon regnal lists; the only such king he could claim before his grandfather Ecgbert (802–39) was Ceawlin (560?–93).<sup>28</sup> Ingild was therefore an important 'gateway' ancestor for Alfred and his family who connected them with Ine (688–726), one of the most significant of the early West Saxon rulers whose laws Alfred included as an adjunct to his own lawcode. Equally unusual is the inclusion of a reference to Ine and Ingild's sisters, Cwenburh and Cuthburh, who are the only women of the royal house who were not queens of Wessex to be included in the seventh- and eighth-century annals. The other early Chronicle entries were not concerned to record the 'foreign' marriages of West Saxon princesses, but Cuthburh's union with Aldfrith of Northumbria has been included. Perhaps it could be seen as enhancing the standing of the family or as recording a link with Northumbria that might be relevant to Alfred's attempt to forge diplomatic links with the province. The reference to her separation from Aldfrith during their lifetimes appears to serve no particular propagandic purpose. It needs to be considered alongside the statement concerning her foundation of Wimborne, for withdrawal into a religious

<sup>26</sup> Bately, *MSA*, p. 34. 'In this year Ingild, Ine's brother, died. Their sisters were Cwenburh and Cuthburh. And Cuthburh founded the monastery at Wimborne. She had been married to Aldfrith, king of the Northumbrians, and they separated during their lifetime'; Whitelock, *ASC*, p. 27.

<sup>27</sup> The death of Ætheling Oswald is recorded under 730. As discussed above, he, like Alfred's family, was a descendant of Ceawlin.

<sup>28</sup> Cenred, the father of Ine and Ingild, appears in charters with the title *rex*, but was evidently not one of the dominant West Saxon kings who were included in the regnal lists.

community was a common procedure for separated queens and one of the ways in which a royal marriage could be ended with the approval of the Church.<sup>29</sup>

The reference to the foundation of Wimborne is another unusual feature of the 718 annal. As Table 2 shows, there are very few entries in the Chronicle annals of the seventh and eighth centuries recording the foundation of religious houses, and the only other recorded for Wessex is the foundation of the Old Minster in Winchester in the annal for 642.

**Table 2. Foundation of churches from the early Chronicle annals.**

565	Columba built a minster ( <i>mynster</i> ) on Iona
642	Cenwalh had the church ( <i>ciricean</i> ) built at Winchester
654	King Anna was slain and Botulf began to build the minster ( <i>mynster</i> ) at <i>Icanho</i>
669	King Egbert gave Reculver to the mass-priest Bass to found a minster ( <i>mynster</i> )
673	St Æthelthryth began the minster ( <i>mynster</i> ) at Ely
718	Cuthburh founded [monastic?] life ( <i>lif/lyf</i> ) at Wimborne

The terminology of the 718 entry stands out from the other entries as it does not record the foundation of a building, but the establishment of monastic life. This could perhaps be an indication of it being an entry that had been inserted into an existing annalistic framework which had its own conventions for describing the foundation of significant churches.

Wimborne was evidently a significant place for the family of Alfred, and that presumably accounts for the inclusion of a notice of its foundation. Alfred's brother Æthelred was buried there, and when his son Æthelwold attempted to take the throne on Alfred's death, Wimborne was one of the two places that he seized in an attempt to rally supporters within Wessex, perhaps because as his father's burial place it symbolized his own right to rule and continuity with his father's reign. The association of Wimborne with the attempted coup of Æthelwold (which, of course, had not occurred when the 890x92 Chronicle text was produced) seems to have seen the end of its patronage from descendants of Alfred. In the tenth century it ceased to be a royal nunnery and became a male minster though these developments cannot be dated precisely.<sup>30</sup>

There are other types of entry that occur only sporadically in the Chronicle annals for the seventh and eighth centuries, but can be presumed, from the greater

<sup>29</sup> Barbara Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses* (London, 2003), pp. 31–36.

<sup>30</sup> Patricia Coulstock, *The Collegiate Church of Wimborne Minster* (Woodbridge, 1993); Sarah Foot, *Veiled Women*, 2 vols (Aldershot, 2000), II, 233–37.

number of similar entries from the reign of Alfred, to have been of particular interest at that time. One such is of the places of burial of kings shown in Table 3.

**Table 3. Burial places of kings recorded in the Chronicle for the seventh to ninth centuries.**

716	Ceolred of Mercia at Lichfield; Æthelred of Mercia at Bardney
755 ( <i>recte</i> 757)	Cynewulf at Winchester; Ætheling Cyneheard at Axminster; Æthelbald of Mercia at Repton
784 ( <i>recte</i> 786)	Beorhtric at Wareham
855	Æthelwulf at Winchester
860	Æthelbald and Æthelbert at Sherborne
871	Æthelred at Wimborne
874	Burgred of Mercia in St Mary's in the English quarter at Rome
888	Queen Æthelswith of Mercia in Pavia

The burial places of Alfred's father, brothers, sister Æthelswith, and brother-in-law Burgred have all been recorded. There are other indications that the site of his own burial and that of other family members were matters which concerned Alfred. In his will Alfred left fifty mancuses to the (unnamed) church where he was to be buried. We know that Alfred was in fact buried in Winchester in the impressive basilican church of New Minster that may have been founded specifically as a burial church for Alfred and his heirs. Although the building of the church belongs to the reign of Alfred's son Edward the Elder, New Minster tradition may well be correct in recording that Edward was fulfilling his father's intentions.<sup>31</sup> It is not known if it was Alfred who moved his father's body from Steyning (Sussex), where it was buried when he died in 858 as king of only the eastern territories of Wessex following Æthelbald's coup, to Old Minster in Winchester.<sup>32</sup> The transfer of the body had evidently been made by the time the Chronicle was completed in 890x92 and would be in accordance with Alfred's patronage towards Winchester in the latter part of his reign. As Æthelbald's coup is not acknowledged in the Chronicle annals so Æthelwulf's earlier place of burial is also not referred to in its texts.

<sup>31</sup> Barbara Yorke, 'The Bishops of Winchester, the Kings of Wessex and the Development of Winchester in the Ninth and Early Tenth Centuries', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 40 (1984), 61–70; *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, ed. by Simon Keynes (Copenhagen, 1995), pp. 2–7.

<sup>32</sup> Æthelwulf's burial at Steyning is recorded only in the *Annals of St Neots s.a.* 858: *Asser*, pp. 132 and 213–14.

The location of royal burials was evidently considered a matter of some importance when the final version of the Chronicle was being compiled, and this contemporary interest may have prompted inclusion of some earlier entries for kings of Wessex and Mercia, though this has not been done systematically. The entries in Table 3 are all introduced by the formula *his lic liþ æt*, followed by a place-name. The body is said to lie at a particular location, but without any specification that this probably means burial at a church. Entries in the 'List of Saints' Resting-Places' known as *Secgan* are made in a similar way, and the first section of that document may have been drawn up before the end of the ninth century.<sup>33</sup> Could there once have been a 'List of Kings' Resting-Places' that included information for both Mercian and West Saxon kings, from which entries were made into the Chronicle text, including into the 755 annal that was probably written in the ninth century?

Another set of entries in the Chronicle annals from the seventh to ninth centuries which seem to particularly reflect the personal interests of King Alfred are records of visits, made principally by West Saxons, to Rome.

**Table 4. Records of visits to Rome from the Chronicle annals for the seventh to ninth centuries.**

688	King Caedwalla
709	King Cenred of Mercia and Offa [king of East Saxons]
721	[Bishop] Daniel [of Winchester]
726	King Ine
737	Bishop Forthhere [of Sherborne] and Queen Frithugyth
801	Archbishop Æthelheard and Bishop Cynebert [of Winchester]
814	Archbishop Wulfred and Bishop Wigbert [of Sherborne]
853	Alfred, son of King Æthelwulf [consecration]
855	King Æthelwulf
874	King Burgred [of Mercia]
883	Sigehelm and Athelstan + alms
887	Ealdorman Æthelhelm + alms
888	Ealdorman Beocca + alms
889	Couriers with letters (no alms)
890	Abbot Beornhelm + alms

The importance of Rome to King Alfred is well known and is presumably to be connected with the unusual concentration of references to West Saxon visits to

<sup>33</sup> David W. Rollason, 'Lists of Saints' Resting-Places in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE*, 7 (1978), 61–93.

Rome in the Chronicle annals for Alfred's own reign.<sup>34</sup> Alfred's visit to Rome in 853 when he can have been no more than five is the occasion of his first entry in the Chronicle, and it records the apparent belief that he had been consecrated as king by the pope at this early age.<sup>35</sup> This interpretation of what had been probably a rather different form of ceremony helped support Alfred's right to succeed eventually to the throne of Wessex, something about which, as we have seen, he had reasons to be defensive. The next entry concerns Æthelwulf's own visit to Rome in 855 after making gifts of a tenth of his royal demesne.<sup>36</sup> That this was meant to be interpreted as the highpoint of Æthelwulf's reign is suggested by the detailed entry made at this point which includes the account of Æthelwulf's death and the long genealogy tracing Æthelwulf's descent from Adam and Christ via various Germanic heroes and former deities. The fact that Æthelwulf's decimation did not ensure the loyalty of all his subjects during his absence and that his return in state from Rome and Francia with a new Frankish bride was met by rebellion by his eldest surviving son with support of leading noblemen from the diocese of Sherborne is ignored in the Chronicle annals which present things as they were meant to have been. The special links that Æthelwulf had established between Wessex and Rome were continued by Alfred. The despatch of leading West Saxons with alms to Rome is one of the few categories of entry in the Chronicle for the reign of Alfred that is not directly connected with fighting against the Vikings (though the alms may, of course, have been made in the hope of securing God's intervention against the enemy).

The importance that contacts with Rome held for Alfred when the Chronicle was being compiled may explain the selection of earlier entries which record visits to Rome by Southumbrians. Such entries would have demonstrated the longstanding links between southern England and Rome which other annals, presumably derived from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, concerning the mission despatched by Pope Gregory also helped to establish. The visits recorded in the Chronicle made

<sup>34</sup> Susan Irvine, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Idea of Rome in Alfredian Literature', in *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Century Conferences*, ed. by Timothy Reuter, Studies in Early Medieval Britain, 3 (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 63–77.

<sup>35</sup> For the likelihood that this visit did take place, which had been doubted, see Simon Keynes, 'Anglo-Saxon Entries in the "Liber Vitae" of Brescia', in *Alfred the Wise*, ed. by Roberts and Nelson, pp. 99–119. Irvine, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Idea of Rome', pp. 68–69, for the probable nature of the ceremony.

<sup>36</sup> Simon Keynes, 'The West Saxon Charters of King Æthelwulf and his Sons', *EHR*, 119 (1994), 1109–49 (pp. 1119–23).

by kings, queens, and West Saxon bishops were made for a variety of purposes that are not fully explained in the text, but create the impression of regular contact. Pilgrimage to Rome was another aspect which linked Æthelwulf and Alfred with their important ancestor King Ine who had resigned his throne in 726 to journey to Rome where he had died, and also to Ine's predecessor, and fellow descendant from Ceawlin, Caedwalla (685–88), whose baptism and death in Rome had been recorded approvingly, and in some detail, by Bede.<sup>37</sup> The precedents provided by Caedwalla's and Ine's visits may have inspired Æthelwulf's own journey and his despatch of young prince Alfred (and perhaps also encouraged Æthelbald to think that his father was unlikely to return).

It is therefore possible to suggest that there is some selection of material in the early Chronicle annals that seems to reflect preoccupations to be found in the ninth-century entries and other written works from the reign of Alfred. Some seem to support the position of Alfred or concern matters with which the King seems to have been particularly interested. Are there also items that one might expect to have been included, but which seem to have been omitted, that could point in a similar direction? Negative evidence is always difficult to establish with any certainty, but there are some surprising absences of material that could be evidence for editorial decisions that certain items were to be excluded. One such category has already been touched upon, namely the absence of detailed genealogical information for the kings who ruled between Ine and Ecgbert which contrasts with entries for rulers of the seventh century whose exact descent from earlier West Saxon kings is enumerated. The most that is said for the kings between Ine and Ecgbert is that their descent goes back to Cerdic, and for some even that statement is not made in the Chronicle text, though it is given for all in the West Saxon Regnal List.<sup>38</sup> Although opinions may differ, it seems on the whole more likely than not that the Chronicle compiler could have included fuller genealogies for the eighth-century rulers had he wanted to, and that the decision not to do so was linked to other efforts to belittle the reputations of several of them. These were men whose descent may well have been more impressive than that of Alfred's family and who had descendants still alive in Alfred's own day.

<sup>37</sup> Bede, *HE*, V, 7.

<sup>38</sup> No statement of ancestry is given in the Chronicle for Kings Æthelheard, Cuthred, or Sigebert. David N. Dumville, 'The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List: Manuscripts and Texts', *Anglia*, 104 (1986), 1–32; Bredehoft, *TH*, pp. 22–23, argues for the likelihood that the same individual was responsible for the genealogies in the Chronicle and the compilation of the Regnal Table.

We have also noted an absence of references to major churches in Wessex, an observation which can be extended to include churchmen and churchwomen, for in the annals for the seventh and eighth centuries the only West Saxon ecclesiastics are bishops of the two West Saxon sees of Sherborne and Winchester. Boniface and the numerous churchmen and -women with whom he corresponded are conspicuous by their absence. This apparent lack of interest in ecclesiastical foundations and their personnel was a major factor in Stenton's conclusion that the commissioner of the Chronicle must have been a layman.<sup>39</sup> It is accompanied by a lack of interest in saints. There are only three individuals designated as saints in the Chronicle annals for the seventh and eighth centuries, and none of them were West Saxons.<sup>40</sup> West Saxon individuals whose cults were established in Wessex by the ninth century, such as Haedde and Aldhelm, do appear in the Chronicle annals, but they are not designated as saints. There is an absence of saints of royal birth, who are so prominent in the traditions of Mercia and Northumbria and most other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.<sup>41</sup> We might have been expected to find cults of members of the royal house who had entered monasteries, such as King Centwine and his daughter Bugga who were the subjects of a poem by Aldhelm,<sup>42</sup> and of kings and princes like Cynewulf and Cyneheard who had died violent deaths in factional disputes. The eighth-century Northumbrian annals which were utilized by Byrhtferth of Ramsey imply that kings and princes who had died violently were being regarded as saints there within a few years of their deaths. For instance, in 788 when King Ælfwald of Northumbria was murdered it is reported that a heavenly light was seen at the place where he died, and he is included in one of the post-Conquest lists of saints' resting-places.<sup>43</sup>

Of course, references to native saints and clergy may have been missing in the West Saxon annals that form the basis of the entries for the seventh and eighth

<sup>39</sup> Stenton, 'South-Western Element', p. 113.

<sup>40</sup> The individuals designated as saints in the Chronicle annals for the seventh and eighth centuries are Æthelthryth of Ely (*s.a.* 673 and 679), Guthlac of Crowland (*s.a.* 714), and Ecgbert of *Rathmelsigi* and Iona (*s.a.* 729). Ecgbert is the only person to appear with the designation of saint in the recapitulation in Bede's *HE*, V, 24.

<sup>41</sup> David W. Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 83–129.

<sup>42</sup> *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, trans. by Michael Lapidge and James Rosier (Woodbridge, 1985), pp. 40–49.

<sup>43</sup> John Blair, 'A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints', in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. by Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe (Oxford, 2002), pp. 495–565 (p. 505).

centuries in the Chronicle. It is nevertheless the case that King Alfred was not a patron of either native cults or, in general, of West Saxon ecclesiastics.<sup>44</sup> Although Asser records a visit by Alfred to the shrine of St Guerir in Cornwall,<sup>45</sup> Alfred seems to have preferred to seek the support of universal rather than native saints, insofar as he was interested in saints at all, and is not known to have promoted the cults of any of his own family as saints. In this his practice contrasts with that of many of his successors and of his own father who, according to William of Malmesbury, was a generous patron of the shrine of St Aldhelm.<sup>46</sup> The *Old English Martyrology*, which may have been produced during the reign of Alfred, contains mostly universal and foreign saints, especially Roman, with only a few native examples, mostly derived from Bede and other literary texts, none of whom are from Wessex.<sup>47</sup>

The preference for universal saints can be seen to be in harmony with Alfred's devotion to Rome and with the practices of the Carolingian Renaissance. Many records of the West Saxon Church may already have been lost before Alfred came to the throne. In the Preface to the translation of Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care* he speaks of the loss of libraries in Wessex and the severe decline in learning which had led him to seek ecclesiastics from other provinces to fill vacancies in the West Saxon Church and to be his advisers on matters of scholarship.<sup>48</sup> However, this may not be the whole story. There is reason to suspect that the wealth of Alfred's family which underpinned their power owed much to the annexation of former Church lands, and a number of the places granted in Alfred's will seem to have been the sites of minsters.<sup>49</sup> Both Abingdon and Old Minster, Winchester

<sup>44</sup> Alan Thacker, 'Dynastic Monasteries and Family Cults: Edward the Elder's Sainted Kindred', in Higham and Hill, pp. 248–63 (pp. 250–53).

<sup>45</sup> Asser, Chapter 74.

<sup>46</sup> *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De gestis pontificum Anglorum libri quinque*, ed. by N. E. S. A. Hamilton, RS, 52 (London, 1870), pp. 389–92.

<sup>47</sup> I am grateful to Christine Rauer for drawing my attention to this material; see also Jane Roberts, 'Fela martyra "many martyrs": A Different View of Orosius's City', in *Alfred the Wise*, ed. by Roberts and Nelson, pp. 155–78; Catherine Cubitt, 'Universal and Local Saints in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Local Saints*, ed. by Thacker and Sharpe, pp. 423–53 (pp. 441–43).

<sup>48</sup> Keynes and Lapidge, pp. 124–26.

<sup>49</sup> Robin Fleming, 'Monastic Lands and England's Defence in the Viking Age', *EHR*, 100 (1985), 247–65; David N. Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural and Ecclesiastical Revival* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 29–54.

complained that Alfred denied them lands to which they were entitled.<sup>50</sup> There may be a link here with one of Alfred's political aims that can be discerned within the Chronicle text, namely the desire to undermine rival branches of the royal house. It is likely, from analogy with other kingdoms, that many early minsters were closely linked with particular subgroups of the West Saxon dynasty, as the burials of rival princes at different minsters as recorded in the Chronicle may suggest. We would also expect these minsters to promote their own saints, many of whom would come from these princely families, if the practice in other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms is a reliable guide.<sup>51</sup> Annexation of Church lands may have led to destruction of the archives, and so to loss of knowledge of the early histories and saints of many early West Saxon communities. Some of the destruction may have been accidental, but one cannot rule out some deliberate *damnatio memoriae*. Alfred's patronage of churchmen from outside Wessex may not only reflect the lack of suitable personnel from within Wessex, but a desire to break up established powers and to promote 'foreigners' on whose loyalty he could rely. Whatever the reasons behind it, the disappearance of early West Saxon ecclesiastical traditions was complete. *The Resting Places of Saints* includes for pre-900 Wessex only individuals who are referred to in Bede or the Chronicle, in contrast to other parts of the country which have entries for apparently early saints who are not known from any earlier written source.<sup>52</sup> Cuthburh and Cwenburh appear as saints of Wimborne although they are not given this designation in the Chronicle.

### *Conclusion: The Ninth-Century Chronicle and Early West Saxon Annals*

Although there can be no absolute certainty on the matter, an analysis of the annals for the seventh and eighth centuries in the Chronicle suggests considerable editorial intervention by the team who produced the version put into circulation around 890x92. This is most apparent for the extended annal entered under the year 755, which may have been composed by the author of the 855 annal, and which seems to reflect views on good and bad leadership to be found in sources

<sup>50</sup> Barbara Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1995), pp. 192–97.

<sup>51</sup> John Blair, 'A Saint for Every Minster? Local Cults in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Local Saints*, ed. by Thacker and Sharpe, pp. 455–94.

<sup>52</sup> The British saints Sidwell and Congar from western Wessex are not included in this generalization; see Barbara Yorke, 'The Saints of Anglo-Saxon Wessex', in *The Modern Traveller to Our Past: Festschrift in Honour of Ann Hamlin*, ed. by Marion Meek (Dublin, 2006), pp. 177–85.

associated with Alfred's scholarly circle. It also seems to promote policies for undermining the reputations of earlier West Saxon rulers and for developing the role of the witan in deciding succession to the throne which seem to have been pursued at Alfred's court. However, other annals for much of the seventh and eighth centuries were probably not composed *de novo*, but had a core, as Stenton suggested, in annals kept at an unknown location in Wessex from some point around the middle of the seventh century.<sup>53</sup> Certain items may have been added to or removed from these earlier annals in accordance with the prejudices and preoccupations that can be seen in the ninth-century annals. Wholesale invention is unlikely and would have defeated one of the objects of the exercise: the manipulation of a story with which many were already familiar. Had Alfred set out to commission his 'ideal' portrayal of West Saxon history he would surely have come up with something that looked rather different and in which his own ancestors in the direct male line would have played a prominent part. What we have seems rather to be the result of customizing, or editing, traditions and sources which already existed — and had no doubt gone through earlier phases of adaptation and manipulation to suit changing circumstances. Aspects of West Saxon history are retrievable from the Chronicle, but we have to accept that we see it through a ninth-century filter and one that is probably closely connected with the viewpoint of King Alfred and his inner circle. Some results of this process can be readily identified, but it should not be forgotten that we are unlikely to be able to recognize all the editorial changes that were made.

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<sup>53</sup> F. M. Stenton, 'The Foundations of English History', *TRHS*, 4th series, 9 (1926), 159–73, repr. in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by D. M. Stenton, pp. 116–26.



## THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE AND CONTINENTAL ANNAL-WRITING

Anton Scharer

Quite clearly, looking at the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (ASC) against the background of early medieval continental annal-writing should bring out the specific nature of the ASC and the achievement of the compiler(s) in greater depth. The ASC is set apart not just by choice of language but also by some particular narrative elements. The following short note is offered, not as a definitive statement, but as points towards an ongoing discussion of the character of the ASC, with a particular focus on the ninth-century compilation. Annalistic compilations draw on diverse material, often other annals, and therefore encourage the study of mutual influence.

Comparison is a basic method of history. There is no need for an excuse for proposing to compare the Common Stock of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the earlier *Royal Frankish Annals* (*RFA*). Even when singling out these annals the focus needs to be closer. Questions of transmission, important as they are, will not be addressed in great detail (in passing one has to note how much better the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle has been served by Dumville and others than the *Royal Frankish Annals* by Kurze),<sup>1</sup> nor will the spread or dissemination of the text, the relationship of recensions, the actual compilation of 'history-books', and the sources upon which the compilers were drawing be discussed in detail.

What I want to engage with first are the function of annals and their literary nature.<sup>2</sup> The *Royal Frankish Annals* originated with the Carolingian court in the

<sup>1</sup> For example, Batley, *MS A; Annales regni Francorum*, ed. by Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG, 6 (Hannover, 1895).

<sup>2</sup> See the important studies by Rosamond McKitterick especially *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 101–19, and by Sarah Foot, 'Finding the Meaning of

late eighties or early nineties of the eighth century.<sup>3</sup> They approximate most closely to what one could call 'official historiography'; the same holds true of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The former document the rise of the Carolingians to royal and imperial power, the latter the rise of Wessex, of the Cerdicings, and Alfred in particular to predominance.<sup>4</sup> Hence it is a streamlined story they tell, a story generally (in case of the *REA*) and mostly (as far as the ASC is concerned) of success. The famous Leopold von Ranke noted as early as 1855 that the *REA* ignore the few instances of misfortune in Charlemagne's reign;<sup>5</sup> the same holds true to a large extent of the treatment Alfred's grandfather, father, and Alfred himself receive in the ASC. To cite an example: the compiler passes over Æthelbald's revolt (against his father Æthelwulf) in silence, and the succession in Alfred's generation (from one brother to the other) is smoothed over, in contrast to the impression we gain from Alfred's will.<sup>6</sup>

In this context we may note that the (hidden) agenda is revealed not only by the all too apparent selection of the material but also by a blending and moulding of events which does not stop short of invention or — should we say — fabrication. Matthias Becher has managed to show this in respect of what the *REA* tell us about Tassilo's alleged oathtakings,<sup>7</sup> and even more recently doubt has been cast on Burchard of Würzburg's and Fulrad of St Denis's mission to Pope Stephen and the latter's famous reply about who should rule the Franks.<sup>8</sup> Thereby earlier misgivings

Form: Narrative in Annals and Chronicles', in *Writing Medieval History*, ed. by Nancy Partner (London, 2005), pp. 88–108.

<sup>3</sup> Wilhelm Levison and Heinz Löwe, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter: Vorzeit und Karolinger*, vol. II: *Die Karolinger vom Anfang des 8. Jahrhunderts bis zum Tode Karls des Großen* (Weimar, 1953), pp. 245–47.

<sup>4</sup> See my sketch in 'The Writing of History at King Alfred's Court', *EME*, 5 (1996), 177–206 (pp. 178–85).

<sup>5</sup> Leopold von Ranke, 'Zur Kritik fränkisch-deutscher Reichsannalisten', *Abhandlungen der Königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1854 (1855), 415–58 (p. 434).

<sup>6</sup> Compare 855A covering the years 855–58 (Bately, *MS A*, pp. 45–46) and Asser, Chapter 12 (p. 10). Alfred's will: *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by F. E. Harmer (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 15–19, 49–53, 91–103.

<sup>7</sup> See the persuasive thesis by Matthias Becher, *Eid und Herrschaft: Untersuchungen zum Herrschaftsethos Karls des Großen*, Vorträge und Forschungen Sonderband, 39 (Sigmaringen, 1993), who on pp. 25–77 unmasks the bias and outright invention of the *Royal Frankish Annals* in regard to Duke Tassilo of Bavaria's supposed breaches of oaths and allegiance.

<sup>8</sup> *Annales regni Francorum* AD 749 (ed. by Kurze, p. 8): Rosamond McKitterick, 'Constructing the Past in the Early Middle Ages: The Case of the Royal Frankish Annals', *TRHS*, 6th Series, 7

about the claim on the part of the *RFA* that St Boniface had anointed Pippin appear to be strengthened.<sup>9</sup>

Now, would an audience have been misled by such arbitrary stress, by such plain spin, by such fabricated matter? Even when allowing for the fact that the events were recorded some time — at least some twenty or more years — after they had happened and that those addressed were ‘partisans’ anyhow, an explanation is called for. And a possible answer lies perhaps in the way annals were constructed and consumed. They were, it seems, not intended to be read, heard, received, just by the single, yearly entry, by the most basic unit, but as a coherent work where ‘invention’ would be less obvious for having become inseparably part of the general narrative. The idea that used to be widely held of annals being kept on a yearly basis, thus of a slowly accruing and accumulating text, does not apply as conclusively and regularly as was once thought. Very recently Rosamond McKitterick has argued convincingly against such an assumption.<sup>10</sup> Among the body of Carolingian annals it is only the Vienna fragment of the *Annales Laurehamenses* that displays features of events being recorded on a yearly basis.<sup>11</sup> All the other evidence points to an initial act of compilation which may be supplemented by later additions made not necessarily on a yearly rhythm but rather in bursts. The fact of compilation opens up another interesting way in which to compare the *RFA* and the *ASC*, though one too complex to tackle in this note.

The *RFA* are not unique in being economical with the truth. Obviously the Chronicle’s point of view is not a matter purely of omission. For example, Alfred’s contemporary, the king of the Mercians, Ceolwulf II, with whom Alfred had shared a monetary alliance, is referred to in the Chronicle as a foolish king’s thegn;

(1997), 101–29, and McKitterick, ‘The Illusion of Royal Power in the Carolingian Annals’, *EHR*, 115 (2000), 1–20.

<sup>9</sup> *Annales regni Francorum* AD 750 (for 751); among recent publications dealing with these events, note Josef Semmler, *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751 und die fränkische Königssalbung*, *Studia humaniora*, Series minor, 6 (Düsseldorf, 2003) and *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751: Vorgeschichte, Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung*, ed. by Matthias Becher and Jörg Jarnut (Münster, 2004).

<sup>10</sup> Above notes 2 and 8.

<sup>11</sup> With annual entries (from 794 to 803, usually composed at the end of the year): *Das Wiener Fragment der Lorscher Annalen, Christus und die Samariterin, Katechese des Niceta von Remesiana: Codex Vindobonensis 515 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Facsimileausgabe*, ed. by Franz Unterkircher, *Codices Selecti*, 15 (Graz, 1967), and Heinrich Fichtenau, *Karl der Große und das Kaisertum: Mit einer Einleitung zum Nachdruck*, Libelli, 320 (Darmstadt, 1971), pp. ix and 53–64. Fichtenau’s fundamental article was first published in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 61 (1953), 257–334 (pp. 309–20 correspond to pp. 53–64 of the reprint).

and the account of the taking of London conveys conscious disinformation rather than straightforward facts.<sup>12</sup> These instances make one realize the ‘constructive’ nature of these annalistic writings as well as their agenda which we have referred to above: to trace the rise of the dynasty and its scion, the Carolingians and Charlemagne on the one hand, the Cerdicings and Alfred on the other hand, and in this course to tap all sources of legitimacy. Here contemporary political goals and historiographical record coincide. An important catchword in this respect is ‘Rome’. There is no need to rehearse the story from Pippin’s coup d’état to Charlemagne becoming emperor as witnessed by the *REA*’s account of papal-Frankish relations. In the *ASC*’s case we may point to Alfred’s anointing<sup>13</sup> and the frequent references to contacts with Rome during the King’s reign.<sup>14</sup> Again Rome buttressed the ‘ideological’ standing of a king. Possible objections that the evidence in Alfred’s case (as reported in the *ASC*) is too scanty when compared to Charlemagne’s (as told by the *REA*) can be countered not so much by reference to Æthelwulf’s journey to Rome, but rather by the role Rome occupies in the overall framework of the *ASC*. Here we touch on one of the fundamental differences between the *ASC* and *REA*. The *ASC*, following in Bede’s footsteps, starts the annalistic record with the Romans coming to Britain and the spread of Christianity. Within this universal, providential perspective the advent of Hengist and Horsa, Cerdic and Cynric and the subsequent history is set. So the scope is wider, and there are yet other distinctive elements of the *ASC* which the *REA* are lacking: for example, the genealogies<sup>15</sup> and an epic, namely the struggle between Cynewulf and Cyneheard, embedded in the expanded entry for 755.

<sup>12</sup> 874A and 886A (Bately, *MS A*, p. 49 and p. 53); for the latter, see Simon Keynes, ‘King Alfred and the Mercians’, in *Kings, Currency and Alliances: History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century*, ed. by Mark A. S. Blackburn and David N. Dumville, *Studies in Anglo-Saxon History*, 9 (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 1–45 (pp. 21–24), and Janet L. Nelson, ‘The Political Ideas of Alfred of Wessex’, in her *Rulers and Ruling Families in Early Medieval Europe: Alfred, Charles the Bald and Others*, *Variorum Collected Studies Series*, CS657 (Aldershot, 1999), IV, pp. 125–58 (pp. 154–57). London was already in Alfred’s hands by 883, so the events of 886 appear as ‘ceremonial re-taking’ at best.

<sup>13</sup> *ASC* 853 (Bately, *MS A*, p. 45).

<sup>14</sup> Which have been expertly commented upon recently by Susan Irvine, ‘The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Idea of Rome in Alfredian Literature’, in *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Century Conferences*, ed. by Timothy Reuter, *Studies in Early Medieval Britain*, 3 (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 63–77.

<sup>15</sup> Compare the following entries in the *ASC*: 547, 552, 560, 597, 611, 626, 648, 670, 674, 676, 685, 688, 694, 716, 728, 731, 738, 755, 784, 855, and 885.

These additional ingredients, so to speak, give the ASC a different flavour and a somewhat wider function than the *REA*. In short, it makes up a self-contained history book, something that the *REA* only achieve by the nature of their transmission in which history books and historical miscellanies play an important role.<sup>16</sup> In these the *REA* are combined with other texts to enhance their historical message. Let me just cite one example: a St Petersburg manuscript, written in tenth-century Soissons but derived from a court exemplar of Charles the Bald, contains (to mention just the major elements) the *Liber historiae Francorum*, the *REA*, Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, the Astronomer's *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, and the *Genealogia regum Francorum*.<sup>17</sup> In this context it might be useful to recall that the other contemporary biography of Louis the Pious, Thegan's *Gesta Hludowici imperatoris*, was likewise usually coupled with Einhard's *Vita Karoli* and occasionally with annals in transmission.<sup>18</sup>

That such a 'history book' was known to Asser can hardly be disputed. He quotes Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, and the annalistic structure of his *Life of King Alfred* was undoubtedly suggested by the biographies of Louis the Pious. What kind of history book Asser used is difficult to determine, but as he most likely drew on a mirror for princes composed for Charles the Bald and as some aspects of Alfred's court culture reflect that of Charles the Bald,<sup>19</sup> something in the line of the exemplar of the St Petersburg manuscript seems an attractive speculation. And, I believe, we can carry speculation a few steps further. That a Carolingian history book was available not just to Asser but to Alfred's learned advisers and to the

<sup>16</sup> McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, passim, but especially pp. 50–59 and 112–13. See also the subtle analysis of one such history book (compiled about 870) by Helmut Reimitz, 'Ein karolingisches Geschichtsbuch aus Saint-Amand: Der *Codex Vindobonensis palat.* 473', in *Text – Schrift – Codex: Quellenkundliche Arbeiten aus dem Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, ed. by Christoph Egger and Herwig Weigl, *MIÖG Ergänzungsband*, 35 (Vienna, 2000), pp. 34–90 and 385 (English summary).

<sup>17</sup> I am referring to St Petersburg, Publicnaja Biblioteka M. E. Saltykova-Scedrina, MS Lat. F. v. IV. 4 in the lucid and learned description of Matthias M. Tischler, *Einhard's Vita Karoli: Studien zur Entstehung, Überlieferung und Rezeption*, *MGH Schriften*, 48, 2 vols (Hannover, 2001), II, 1163–76.

<sup>18</sup> See Tischler (with regard to Asser!), *Einhard's Vita Karoli*, pp. 1589–91, and Ernst Tremp, *Studien zu den Gesta Hludowici imperatoris des Trierer Chorbischofs Thegan*, *MGH Schriften*, 32 (Hannover, 1988), p. 132.

<sup>19</sup> Anton Scharer, *Herrschaft und Repräsentation: Studien zur Hofkultur König Alfreds des Großen*, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung Ergänzungsband*, 36 (Vienna, 2000), pp. 87–108.

court at large is indicated by the very nature of 'Alfredian' historiography, by the diptych of ASC and Asser's *Life of King Alfred*. The book will have reached the court, we may conjecture, when the process of compiling the ASC was well under way and hence the possible influence is unlikely to have been too great, yet the stress on Alfred's anointing and the relations with Rome may tell of some resonance, as may, perhaps, the way 'success' is presented by glossing over delicate matters, such as misfortune and family strife. The ASC discharged many of the purposes associated with different texts in the history book, but one decisive subject matter was still lacking in Alfred's case: a biography. This task Asser achieved by using the ASC, working so to speak side by side with the compiler(s), and by drawing his inspiration from the royal biographies in the history book as well as from a mirror of princes. What I have tried to sketch looks once again in some respects like a tale of emulation of Carolingian court culture, a great achievement in its own right, coupled with an important innovation, the use of the vernacular in history writing, of which the ASC is such a precious record.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> I wish to thank Alice Jorgensen for her great patience and for her many suggestions in the interest of clarity which helped to improve this essay.

## MARKING BOUNDARIES: CHARTERS AND THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE

Scott Thompson Smith

In his prefatory letter to the Old English *Regula Pastoralis*, King Alfred turns a nostalgic look to better times when ‘ðā kyningas ðe ðone onwald hæfdon ðæs folces [on ðam dagum] Gode & his ærendwrecum hersumedon; & hie ægðer ge hiora sibbe ge hiora siodo ge hiora onweald innanbordes gehioldon, & eac ut hiora eðel gerymdon’.<sup>1</sup> Alfred’s admiring appraisal of past kings indicates his views on the proper use of *anweald* (power, sovereignty): a good king both maintains domestic order within the kingdom itself (*rice*) and expands the lands of the realm (*eðel*). *Eðel* generally signifies ‘homeland’, but it can more specifically connote hereditary land or ancestral domain.<sup>2</sup> Alfred’s pairing of *rice* and *eðel* sees *anweald* as something that could be passed down and maintained over familial generations, providing longstanding political authority over dynastic lands. Concern with the legitimate use of *anweald* also appears widely in other vernacular texts associated with the Alfredian circle, including the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.<sup>3</sup> The obituary notice for Alfred in the Chronicle (*s.a.* 900), for example, states that at the time of his death he was king over all the English except for those regions under Danish

<sup>1</sup> *King Alfred’s West-Saxon Version of Gregory’s Pastoral Care*, ed. by Henry Sweet, EETS, OS, 45 and 50 (London, 1871–72), I, 3. ‘those kings who had power over the people in those days obeyed God and his representatives; and they upheld peace, good conduct, and authority within, and also expanded their homeland outwards’. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

<sup>2</sup> *DOE*, s.v. ‘eðel’.

<sup>3</sup> William A. Kretzschmar, Jr, ‘Adaptation and *Anweald* in the Old English Orosius’, *ASE*, 16 (1987), 127–45 (pp. 142–45).

*anweald*.<sup>4</sup> Alfred halted the Scandinavian advances in England for a time, thereby securing his kingdom, but lands under English control had been much reduced. Despite his many accomplishments, Alfred left to his son Edward ‘the united but much attenuated kingdom of Wessex and Mercia’.<sup>5</sup> It would fall to Alfred’s descendants both to achieve domestic security and to extend dynastic lands. This essay examines the Chronicle account of this territorial expansion in the annals for 910–46 as they appear in manuscripts A (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173) and B (London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A VI + London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A III, fol. 178) to show that in these annals the Chronicle uses a textual practice most evident in royal diplomas: the writing of territorial bounds as a means of articulating and maintaining the legitimate possession of land.

The Chronicle has been frequently read as a political text promoting a dynastic agenda,<sup>6</sup> and this essay in turn reads the Chronicle as a textual mode for asserting dynastic dominion over a growing area of lands. The Chronicle annals for 910–46 function as an accumulative narrative of expanding territory, marking out the borders of royal *anweald* within sets of annals dedicated to individual rulers. This discursive process begins with the circumscription of territorial authority at the time of Alfred’s death and continues in the accounts of his descendants bringing new lands within the ambit of their control.<sup>7</sup> The Chronicle records the moving

<sup>4</sup> Bately, *MS A*, p. 61: ‘se wæs cyning ofer eall Ongelcyn butan ðæm dæle þe under Dena onwalde wæs’.

<sup>5</sup> Cyril R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands* (Bristol, 1975), p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> R. H. C. Davis, ‘Alfred the Great: Propaganda and Truth’, *History*, 56 (1971), 169–82; J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, ‘The Franks and the English in the Ninth Century: Some Common Historical Interests’, in *Early Medieval History* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 201–16; Janet Thormann, ‘The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Poems and the Making of the English Nation’, in *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of Social Identity*, ed. by Allen J. Frantzen and John D. Niles (Gainesville, 1997), pp. 60–85; Bredehoft, *TH*; Donald Scragg, ‘A Reading of *Brunanburh*’, in *Unlocking the Wordbord: Anglo-Saxon Studies in Memory of Edward B. Irving, Jr.*, ed. by Mark C. Amodio and Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe (Toronto, 2003), pp. 109–22; Sheppard, *FK*; cf. Simon Keynes, ‘King Alfred and the Mercians’, in *Kings, Currency and Alliances: History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century*, ed. by Mark A. S. Blackburn and David N. Dumville, *Studies in Anglo-Saxon History*, 9 (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 1–45 (pp. 40–41).

<sup>7</sup> Whereas his predecessors had received the title *Occidentaliū Saxonum rex* in their diplomas, Alfred was described as *Angul Saxonum rex* in both his later diplomas and in Asser’s *Vita Alfredi regis*. This shift in nomenclature communicates the ambitious idea of a new political order

borders of dynastic territory through its inventory of place-names and through its accounts of military activity on the edges of the English realm. This notation of events and places creates what Jacqueline A. Stodnick has called 'discursive mapping', a dynamic textual process which produces 'a geographically imagined category'.<sup>8</sup> The Chronicle's writing of boundaries marks the geographic edges of royal dominion as they change over time. In the process, the Chronicle creates and maintains the idea of a bounded realm held under the *anweald* of successive royal figures.

In this context, the Chronicle fulfills at a national level the same function as royal diplomas (known more generally as charters) do at the level of the local estate. Royal diplomas, written in Latin, represented a grant of property by a king to an ecclesiastical or secular beneficiary, and thereafter served as written evidence of possession.<sup>9</sup> Diplomas constitute a longstanding textual tradition in Anglo-Saxon England: the earliest diploma to survive in a contemporary single sheet is dated to 679,<sup>10</sup> and the form of the Anglo-Saxon diploma had probably been established by the mid-seventh century.<sup>11</sup> Diplomas were originally written in monastic scriptoria, but a royal writing office had been established by the early tenth century and the production of diplomas continued into the eleventh century.<sup>12</sup> Diplomas served

extending beyond the original bounds of Wessex. The same diplomatic style would be maintained by King Edward the Elder and thereafter by King Athelstan in the first years of his reign. See Simon Keynes, 'The West Saxon Charters of King Æthelwulf and his Sons', *EHR*, 109 (1994), 1109–49 (pp. 1147–48).

<sup>8</sup> Jacqueline Stodnick, 'What (and Where) Is the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle About? Spatial History', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 86 (2004), 87–104 (p. 90).

<sup>9</sup> For general discussions of royal diplomas, see F. M. Stenton, *The Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* (Oxford, 1955); Simon Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' 978–1016: A Study in their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 1–83; Patrick Wormald, *Bede and the Conversion of England: The Charter Evidence* (Jarrow Lecture, 1984); and Susan Kelly, 'Anglo-Saxon Lay Society and the Written Word', in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 36–62 (pp. 39–46).

<sup>10</sup> S 8.

<sup>11</sup> Kelly, 'Anglo-Saxon Lay Society', p. 43. The introduction of the diploma has commonly been credited to Theodore and Hadrian, but Pierre Chaplais has argued for an earlier introduction. See Pierre Chaplais, 'Who Introduced Charters into England? The Case for Augustine', in *Prisca Munimenta: Studies in Archival and Administrative History Presented to A. E. J. Hollaender*, ed. by Felicity Ranger (London, 1973), pp. 88–107 (first published in *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 3 (1969), 526–42).

<sup>12</sup> A longstanding debate over the production of diplomas lies behind this generalization. For representative views, see Pierre Chaplais, 'The Origin and Authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon

both practical and symbolic functions, imbued with the prestige of ecclesiastical sanction, religious rhetoric, and ceremonial ritual.<sup>13</sup> Originally issued as a single sheet, the diploma embodied within its text both the act of the grant and the land itself, memorializing the political authority of the issuing king and witnesses, the specific terms of the grant, and the boundaries of the property.

Diplomas provided an established analogue for demarcating the limits of territorial possession in the vernacular through their component boundary clauses.<sup>14</sup> Property bounds in diplomas of the seventh and eighth centuries are generally brief and in Latin, primarily 'formed by supplying vernacular place-names within a framework of compass directions and landmarks in Latin'.<sup>15</sup> The following bounds appear, for example, in a diploma dated to 759: 'confiniæ tamen ejusdem terræ . ab australi plaga Uuisleag . ab occidente Rindburna, a septemtrionale Meosgelegeo; ab oriente vero Onnanduun cum campis silvis pratis pascuis cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus'.<sup>16</sup> Early bounds such as these situate the property in general terms, but they nonetheless represent the geographical limits of possession. Boundary

Diploma', in *Prisca Munimenta*, ed. by Ranger, pp. 28–42 (first published in *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 3 (1965), 48–61); Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 14–83; Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (London, 1984), pp. 168–72; David N. Dumville, 'English Square Minuscule Script: The Mid-Century Phases', *ASE*, 23 (1994), 133–64 (pp. 156–64).

<sup>13</sup> Chaplais, 'Origin and Authenticity', pp. 33–35; Kelly, 'Anglo-Saxon Lay Society', p. 44; Nicholas Brooks, 'Anglo-Saxon Charters: Recent Work', in *Anglo-Saxon Myths: State and Church 400–1066* (London, 2000), pp. 181–215 (p. 182).

<sup>14</sup> Walter Pohl has pointed out that diplomatic language at times informed the rhetoric of larger territorial claims in negotiations between Carolingian rulers and popes: 'The popes also used charters, whether forged or not, and other documents to legitimize their territorial claims. Thus, ways to circumscribe possessions that had hitherto been common in private law, but virtually unknown in political discourse, began to seep into treaties between popes and Frankish rulers.' Walter Pohl, 'Conclusion: The Transformation of Frontiers', in *The Transformation of Frontiers from Late Antiquity to the Carolingians*, ed. by Walter Pohl, Ian Wood, and Helmut Reimitz (Leiden, 2001), pp. 247–60 (p. 257).

<sup>15</sup> Kathryn A. Lowe, 'The Development of the Anglo-Saxon Boundary Clause', *Nomina*, 21 (1998), 63–100 (p. 68). See also Mark William Rabuck, 'The Imagined Boundary: Borders and Frontiers in Anglo-Saxon England' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1996), pp. 149–65; abstract in *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 57 (1996), 2621-A.

<sup>16</sup> S 56. *CS*, I, no. 187 at pp. 266–67. 'the boundaries of the land [are] Wistley on the southern side, Rindburna to the west, Meosgelegeo to the north, and Andover Hill to the east, with the fields, woods, meadows, pastures, [and] everything belonging to it'. This diploma survives in a single sheet dated to the mid-eighth century.

clauses written in English first appear in the ninth century and become a standard component of tenth-century diplomas, where they can become quite detailed and lengthy.<sup>17</sup> Most vernacular boundary clauses ‘begin at a cardinal point on the estate boundary’ and proceed clockwise on a walking tour through a series of landscape features back to the original starting point.<sup>18</sup> The boundary markers ‘are either fixed points, such as a tree, a stump, a stone or some similar, isolated object, or else they are a linear feature, a stream, a road, a hedge or the boundary of an adjoining estate’.<sup>19</sup> The only single-sheet diploma to survive from the reign of Edward the Elder contains such a boundary clause in English:<sup>20</sup>

Ðis synt þa land gemæro . Ærest of þam garan innan þa blacan hegecan . of þære hegecan nyþer innan þone fulan broc of ðam fulan broce wiþ westan randes æsc þanon on þære ealdan dic wið westan þa herde wic . of þære dic þæt innan wealdan hrigc on eadrices gemære . 7lang eadrices gemære þæt innan cynebellinga gemære 7lang gemære þæt on icenhylte . 7lang icenhylte oþ þone hæðenan byrgels . þanon on cynges stræt . up 7lang stræte on welandes stocc . of þam stocce nyþer 7lang rah heges ðæt on heg leage of ðære leage nyþer ðæt eft on ðære garan.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> There is a gap in the production of royal diplomas during Edward’s reign between 909 and 924, but the vernacular boundary clause was well established prior to this hiatus. Three single-sheet diplomas with vernacular boundary clauses survive from the ninth century (S 298, 327, and 331), with S 298 (dated 847) containing remarkably detailed bounds. Lowe, ‘Development of the Anglo-Saxon Boundary Clause’, pp. 68–69. Other single sheets of the ninth century (such as S 293 and 328) also have more detailed perambulations in Latin which resemble the style of vernacular bounds.

<sup>18</sup> Della Hooke, *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1998), p. 95. See also Joy Jenkins, ‘Charter Bounds’, in *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and others (Oxford, 1999), pp. 97–99.

<sup>19</sup> Michael Reed, ‘Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries’, in *Discovering Past Landscapes*, ed. by Michael Reed (London, 1984), pp. 261–306 (p. 281).

<sup>20</sup> S 367. The diploma is dated to 903, but debate over the dating of its script has suggested that the document may be an imitative copy made in the later tenth century. For detailed commentary, see *Charters of Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. by N. P. Brooks and S. E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters (Oxford, forthcoming), no. 101.

<sup>21</sup> CS, II, no. 603 at p. 259 (abbreviations expanded). ‘These are the estate boundaries. First from the gore to the black hedge, from the hedge down to the dirty brook, from the dirty brook to the ash tree west of the bank, from there to the old ditch west of the herdsman’s dwelling, then from the ditch into the wooded ridge up to Eadric’s boundary, along Eadric’s boundary then to the boundary of the Kimblings, along the boundary then to Icknield, along Icknield up to the heathen mounds, from there to King’s Street, up along the street to Weland’s Stump, from the stump down along the roe hedge then to the haying meadow, from the meadow down back to the gore.’ For my

Tenth-century vernacular boundary clauses delineate estate bounds through a paratactic list of landscape features linked by transitional conjunctions and adverbs (*þa, ðonne, ðonan*) to indicate perambulatory movement. While Latin bounds had been organized by cardinal direction, vernacular clauses create property boundaries incrementally, moving from point to point through an accumulative catalogue of markers.

It has been argued that diplomas essentially ‘invent’ landscape in order to enable the human possession and transmission of property. Charters ‘never describe the parcel itself in any detail but only track its edges or boundaries’, thereby speaking of ‘landscape as bounded, as contained by human-defined purposes’.<sup>22</sup> The charter renders land in writing, providing a tactile sign of ownership; its bounds signify ‘the section of the landscape that must be described or invented as a discrete unit in order to ensure its transfer from one holder to another’.<sup>23</sup> The ambulatory tracing of boundaries inscribes the spatial limits of possession, setting down borders through implied human action. The Chronicle annals 910–46AB repetitively enact such a process in their accumulative accounts of Edward, Æthelflæd, Athelstan, and Edmund, charting the expansion of dynastic territory in incremental units. The Chronicle sets out territorial borders by recording movement through a series of topographic markers and place-names; in the process, the annals demarcate the expanding periphery of dynastic lands. This textual operation represents what Margaret Clunies Ross in another context has called a ‘cultural paradigm of spatial representation’ for producing and legitimizing the division of land.<sup>24</sup> Like the boundary clause, the Chronicle creates an idea of territory in writing, while its annalistic structure enables a restatement of that bounded realm under successive royal figures.

While most scribes working in early and mid-tenth-century England would have been familiar with charters, arguments for Chronicle scribes also producing

translation I have consulted Michael Reed, ‘Buckinghamshire Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries’, appendix in Margaret Gelling, *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley* (Bristol, 1979), pp. 178–81.

<sup>22</sup> Nicholas Howe, *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England: Essays in Cultural Geography* (New Haven, 2008), p. 39.

<sup>23</sup> Howe, *Writing the Map*, p. 39.

<sup>24</sup> Margaret Clunies Ross, ‘Land-Taking and Text-Making in Medieval Iceland’, in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. by Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia, 1998), pp. 159–84 (p. 160).

or copying charters at the time must remain tentative.<sup>25</sup> The scribal production of the Chronicle in its various forms is a complex issue, and this essay is not the occasion to engage such issues fully.<sup>26</sup> The copying of annals 910–46 into A and B has been dated with some precision,<sup>27</sup> thereby providing a terminal date for the material's composition, but exact dating and provenance for either the exemplars or the original composition of that material remain conjectural. Nonetheless, the inclusion of vernacular bounds in diplomas had been well established by the beginning of the tenth century, and diplomas would have been familiar to scribes working at both monastic centres and the royal court. The textual model for the circumscription of property in English, with its functional indication of ownership, would have been available to those Chronicle scribes responsible for the original material as well as to those scribes responsible for copying that material into A and B in the tenth century. Whether the scribes deliberately drew upon that diplomatic model is uncertain, but it is clear that the Chronicle (*s.a.* 910–46) and contemporary diplomas share a common vision for writing land, one which fuses the textual representation of boundaries with the representation of power.

The Edwardian annals for 912–20A primarily record Edward's military campaigns in Danish regions to the north and east, his sustained construction of *burhs*, and the submission of the peoples resident in those areas.<sup>28</sup> The annals display close attention to matters of geography, direction, and time, and they indicate the crucial role the construction and fortification of *burhs* played in the tenth-century expansion of West Saxon authority.<sup>29</sup> David Hill has characterized the methodical construction and maintenance of *burhs* as a central component of territorial

<sup>25</sup> It is clear, however, that scribes of later Chronicle texts also worked with diplomatic materials. E incorporates material drawn from forged charters (Irvine, *MS E*, pp. xc–xcvi), while several diplomatic forgeries have been attributed to the F-scribe (Baker, *MS F*, p. xxiii).

<sup>26</sup> For scribal activity in A, see David Dumville, 'English Square Minuscule Script: The Background and Earliest Phases', *ASE*, 16 (1987), 147–79; Dumville, 'Origins'; Dumville, 'English Square Minuscule: Mid-Century Phases'.

<sup>27</sup> These annals in A were written by Scribe 2 (891 to 920) in the 920s and Scribe 3 (924–55) all at once in the mid-tenth century. Dumville, 'Origins', pp. 56–70. All of B was written in a single hand sometime between 977 and 1000. Simon Taylor favours a date closer to 977 than 1000 since the hand displays none of the insular forms typical of eleventh-century script. Taylor, *MS B*, p. xxiv.

<sup>28</sup> For a discussion of these campaigns and the submissions to Edward, see Lesley Abrams, 'Edward the Elder's Danelaw', in Higham and Hill, pp. 128–43 (pp. 138–40).

<sup>29</sup> For a discussion of the Edwardian annals in A, see David A. E. Pelteret, 'An Anonymous Historian of Edward the Elder's Reign', in *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. by Stephen Baxter and others (Farnham, 2009), pp. 319–36.

expansion after the death of Alfred: 'The pattern of the campaigns was hardly dashing — it was a process of slowly strengthening the West Saxon and Mercian areas with *burhs*, then fortifying the frontier areas with more *burhs*, and finally pushing the *burhs* forward far enough to force the Danes to react.'<sup>30</sup> Within 912–20A, only the 913 annal does not record the construction or fortification of at least one *burh* under Edward's direction; the annals mention a sum total of twenty *burhs* being constructed, fortified, or manned during the period. In addition, many of the annals are precise in situating individual locations. The 912 entry, for example, records that 'het Eadweard cy[ni]ng atimbran þa norðran burg æt Heorotforda betweox Memeran 7 Beneficcan 7 Lygean' and that his forces 'worhte þa burg þa hwile æt Heorotforda on suphealfe Lygean'.<sup>31</sup> Other entries, such as that for 920, also exhibit a marked attention to both direction and location: 'Her on bysum gere foran to middum sumera for Eadweard cyning mid fierde to Snotingaham 7 het gewyrcaþ þa burg on suphealfe þære eas on gear 7 þa brycg ofer Treontan betwix þam twam burgum, 7 for þa þonan on Peaclond to Badecanwiellon 7 het gewyrcaþ ane burg þær on neaweste 7 gemannian'.<sup>32</sup> The attention to location and direction in 912–20A effectively records Edward's movements as he works to secure land and expand the territory held under his *anweald*.

This record of *burhs* located on the bounds of royal authority and the subsequent extension of those frontiers effectively does the work of boundary clauses, which are themselves typically 'concerned only with the boundaries or peripheries of estates'.<sup>33</sup> Each *burh* acts as a kind of boundary marker connected by the movement of Edward and his forces: many of the annals contain some variation on the formula 'for Eadweard cyning [mid fierde] to x', followed by the construction or fortification of a *burh* at the noted location (*s.a.* 912, 914–20). Such a record of movement across the landscape not only creates an itinerary of military action but, like charter bounds, creates a network of place-names and landscape features which

<sup>30</sup> David Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1981), p. 55. For a series of maps charting the construction of *burhs* under Edward and Æthelflæd, see *ibid.*, pp. 56–59.

<sup>31</sup> Bately, *MS A*, p. 64. 'King Edward ordered the northern stronghold at Hertford to be built between the Maran and the Beane and the Lea', and 'meanwhile made the stronghold at Hertford on the southern side of the Lea'.

<sup>32</sup> Bately, *MS A*, p. 69. 'In this year King Edward travelled with his army before midsummer to Nottingham and ordered the stronghold to be built on the southern side of the river, opposite the other, and the bridge over Trent between the two strongholds, and from there he went to Bakewell in the Peak District and ordered one stronghold to be built and manned in that place.'

<sup>33</sup> Reed, 'Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries', p. 297.

together represent the limits of political authority.<sup>34</sup> This annalistic record of Edward's movement from place to place inscribes a periphery of his *anweald* which moves outward as the annals progress over time. Several of the annals also record Edward's movement both to and from different locations through the formula, 'ær he þonan fore' (*s.a.* 914, 915, 916), amplifying further the connection of places through human movement so evident in the perambulations of vernacular boundary clauses.

The progressive connection of locations through human movement becomes more pronounced through the annals' frequent use of *þonan*, an adverb which occurs regularly in vernacular boundary clauses. *þonan* appears seventeen times in its spelling variations in A, with eight of those occurrences falling within the annals for 912–20.<sup>35</sup> Half of the occurrences of *þonan* as a directional adverb in A fall within the annals for 912–20. Furthermore, *þonan* is followed by a place-name or directional indicator four times within the Edwardian annals (*s.a.* 914, 917, 918, 920), while the word otherwise appears three times in the formula *ær he þonan fore* (*s.a.* 914, 915, 916). The concentration of a directional adverb within these annals clearly reflects their commitment to delineating geographical location and movement. The distinctive use of *þonan* to connect a series of human movements across named locations functions much as it does in the perambulations of charter bounds, but on the scale of the royal domain. The notation of *burhs* as territorial markers linked by Edward's movements inscribes the moving bounds of *anweald* and its dominion over land and people.

This effect is especially clear in the annal for 918 in which Edward travels to Stamford and constructs a *burh*; then rides to the *burh* at Tamworth after Æthel-flæd's death in order to secure his authority in Mercia; and finally travels to Nottingham to repair and man the *burh* there. In each instance, Edward's movement to a location on the outer bounds of his authority is followed by the political

<sup>34</sup> See also Ryan Lavelle, 'Geographies of Power in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: The Royal Estates of Anglo-Saxon Wessex', this volume. Lavelle specifically discusses the significance of the royal estates and itineraries in the Chronicle as demonstrations of royal power (or the lack thereof), but his attention to the control of royal territory as signified through a record of places and movement in the Chronicle mirrors my own arguments here.

<sup>35</sup> My tally ignores alternations of *þ* and *ð*. The spellings *þonan*/*ponon*/*panon* appear in the Edwardian annals. *Danon* appears *s.a.* 606 and 993 (twice); *þanon* appears *s.a.* 917 and 1001 (twice); *ponon* appears *s.a.* 547, 891, 914, and 916; *þonan* appears *s.a.* 584, 904, 914, 915, 917, 918, and 920. In annal 547, the word functions as a temporal rather than a directional adverb.

submission of the peoples in the region.<sup>36</sup> Through this repetitive pattern, the Edwardian annals claim both land and resident peoples. For example, 912A states that after the construction of a *burh* at *Witham*, those people in the area formerly under Danish authority submitted to Edward.<sup>37</sup> This pattern of a *burh* being constructed or fortified, followed by the submission of nearby peoples, also appears *s.a.* 914, 915, 917 (on four separate occasions), 918, and 920.<sup>38</sup> The Edwardian annals systematically record the expansion of dynastic territory in an accumulative narrative, predicated in large part on the strategic construction and maintenance of *burhs* which act as boundary markers for political authority.

Like diplomatic boundary clauses, the Edwardian annals record the limits of territorial authority through the textual notation of movement across landscape. The annalistic format, however, allows the writing of bounded territory to function as an ongoing process. Whereas diplomas mark out estate borders and declare the right of possession within a single monumental text, the Chronicle annals record the expanding borders of dynastic authority in a composite text, accumulating lands for the West Saxon house through a yearly record. In this sense, the Chronicle records the possession and control of land within and across time, whereas the grant of property represented within a royal diploma exists outside of time; the diploma represents the original grant within a static material text, just as it fixes the political authority of the grantor and witnesses within the temporal moment represented by that text.<sup>39</sup> Both textual forms, however, share a common project: the creation of bounded land through writing, and the placement of that

<sup>36</sup> See also Lavelle, 'Geographies of Power', on the control of central locations indicating the consequent allegiance and obligation of the people within that region.

<sup>37</sup> Bately, *MS A*, p. 64: 'þa for Eadweard cyning mid sumum his fultume on Eastseaxe to Mældune 7 wicode þær þa hwile þe man þa burg worhte 7 getimbrede æt Witham, 7 him beag god dæl þæs folces to þe ær under deniscra manna anwalde wæron' (then King Edward went with some of his forces into Essex to Maldon and camped there while the stronghold was built and constructed at Witham, and a good part of the people who before had been under the power of the Danes submitted to him).

<sup>38</sup> For the Chronicle account of the northern submission in 920, see Michael R. Davidson, 'The (Non)submission of the Northern Kings in 920', in Higham and Hill, pp. 200–11. Davidson argues that the 920 entry works as part of a deliberate argument for the legitimacy of Edward's political authority, especially within Mercia.

<sup>39</sup> One charter, written in English, does record the adjustment of property boundaries for the three Winchester communities (Old Minster, New Minster, and Nunnaminster) in 964 x 975. S 1449. *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by A. J. Robertson, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1956), no. 49 at pp. 102–05. This document is not a Latin diploma, however, but a vernacular memorandum.

land within the legitimate possession of an individual or community, all of which is recorded within a memorial text. The Chronicle annals 910–46AB work as a boundary clause writ large, fashioning a powerful declaration of dynastic authority that extends across generations.

The same attention to the borders of territorial authority appears in the Mercian Register, a small group of annals (896–924) in B and C (London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B I) which are dedicated to the activities of Æthelflæd, ‘Lady of the Mercians’, as she collaborated with Edward in securing territory.<sup>40</sup> B and C present the Mercian Register as a separate unit, breaking established chronology by inserting the text after the annal for 915.<sup>41</sup> The Mercian Register begins in B with a string of empty annals for the years 896 to 901, and concludes after its entry for 924 with a string of nine empty annals running from 925 to 933.<sup>42</sup> The manuscript appearance of the Mercian Register in B and C marks it as a distinct text, establishing Æthelflæd as a separate royal figure engaged in a long project of expanding and consolidating territory. Thomas Bredehoft has recently argued that the Mercian Register began, as the Edwardian annals did, as an independent ‘extension of the Alfredian chronicle into a dynastic chronicle following the fortunes of Alfred’s offspring’.<sup>43</sup> The Mercian Register’s account of Æthelflæd’s activities functions as a narrative both separate from and parallel to the preceding Edwardian annals,<sup>44</sup> systematically detailing the fortification of *burhs*,

<sup>40</sup> See F. T. Wainwright, ‘Aethelflaed, Lady of the Mercians’, in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. by Peter Clemoes (London, 1959), pp. 53–69; Stenton, *ASE*, pp. 324–30; and Pauline Stafford, ‘“The Annals of Æthelflæd”: Annals, History and Politics in Early Tenth-Century England’, in *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks*, ed. by Julia Barrow and Andrew Wareham (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 101–16.

<sup>41</sup> For the layout of the Mercian Register in B and C, see Paul E. Szarmach, ‘Æðelflæd of Mercia: *Mise en page*’, in *Words and Works: Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature in Honour of Fred C. Robinson*, ed. by Peter S. Baker and Nicholas Howe (Toronto, 1998), pp. 105–26.

<sup>42</sup> C features a remarkably similar layout. The Mercian Register begins in C with a string of empty annals for 896 to 901. Like B, C also follows the 924 entry with a string of nine empty annals running from 925 to 933. O’Brien O’Keeffe, *MS C*.

<sup>43</sup> Bredehoft, *TH*, p. 65.

<sup>44</sup> B only contains materials for the Edwardian campaigns in its annals for 913, 914, and 915 (equivalent to 912–14A), after which point it begins the Mercian Register. As a result, B’s account of Edward’s construction of *burhs* is much truncated in comparison to A (with Edward building

the acquisition of territory, and the allegiance of peoples occupying those territories.

The Mercian Register records the construction or maintenance of *burhs* in 907 (Chester), 910 (*Bremesburh*), 912 (*Scergeat*, Bridgnorth), 913 (Tamworth, Stafford), 914 (Eddisbury, Warwick), and 915 (Chirbury, *Weardburh*, Runcorn).<sup>45</sup> These locations provided defensive points along the Welsh border to the west and against Scandinavian forces in the midlands and the north.<sup>46</sup> The Mercian Register's catalogue of *burhs* provides a set of textual markers for the territorial limits of political authority, functioning much like the Edwardian annals in A. The Mercian Register does not contain the level of directional detail evident in those annals, but it does display some geographical and temporal precision, as evident in the annal for 912: 'Her com Æþelflæd Myrcna hlæfdige on þone halgan æfen Inuentione Sancte Crucis to Scergeate 7 þær ða burh getimbrede, 7 þæs ilcan geares þa æt Brige.'<sup>47</sup> Like the Edwardian annals, the Mercian Register also presents the occupation of a *burh* as a catalyst for the submission of neighbouring peoples. Æthelflæd seized the Danish stronghold at Derby in 917 and later took the stronghold at Leicester in 918, and the Chronicle states that the capture of the strongholds was followed by the submission of the forces situated there.<sup>48</sup> The Mercian Register, then, like the Edwardian annals in A, carefully records territory secured through the construction and maintenance of *burhs* accompanied by the political submission of resident peoples.

The manuscript layout of the Mercian Register in B further accentuates its sustained attention to inscribing the boundaries of dynastic territory. After its

*burhs* s.a. 913 and 915), but it still repeats the pattern of *burhs* as progressive frontier markers evident in A and in the Mercian Register.

<sup>45</sup> For the construction of these *burhs*, see David Griffiths, 'The North-West Frontier', in Higham and Hill, pp. 167–87.

<sup>46</sup> See Hill, *Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England*, nos 85–89 at pp. 56–57. See Wainwright, 'Aethelflæd, Lady of the Mercians', pp. 58–59, for specific discussion (and a map) of these strategic locations, 'part of the long line of fortresses which by 916 stretched from the Mersey to Essex and menaced the Danes in their midland strongholds' (p. 59).

<sup>47</sup> Taylor, *MS B*, p. 49. 'In this year, Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians, came to *Scergeat* on the holy eve of the Invention of the Holy Cross, and constructed a stronghold there, and in the same year the one at Bridgnorth.'

<sup>48</sup> Taylor, *MS B*, p. 50: '[917] Her Æþelflæd Myrcna hlæfdige Gode fultmigendum foran to Hlafmæssan be gear 7a burh mid eallum þam ðe þærto hyrde, þe is hatan Deoraby' (In this year, before Lammas, Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians, through the aid of God seized the stronghold called Derby, along with all those subject to it).

annal-number for 908, B contains no other annal-numbers until 925, while the entries for <914> and <915> contain no initial formulaic markers (such as *Her* or *On þysum geare*) to indicate the beginning of a self-contained annal.<sup>49</sup> The three annals for 913–15 consequently run together syntactically, creating a running itinerary of place-names linked by Æthelflæd's movement:

Her Gode forgifendum for Æþelflæd Myrcna hlæfdige mid eallum Myrcum to Tamaweorðige 7 þa burh ðær getimbrede on foreweardne sumor, 7 þæs foran to Hlafmæssan þa æt Stæfforda; ða þæs oþre geare þa æt Eadesbyrig on foreweardne sumor, 7 þæs ilcan geares eft on ufewardne hærfest þa æt Wæringwicon; ða þæs oþre geare on ufan midne winter þa æt Cyricbyrig, 7 þa æt Weardbyrig, 7 þy ilcan geare foran to middan wintra þa æt Rumcofan.<sup>50</sup>

I have presented the text without reproducing manuscript division and capitalization in order to highlight the text's structural resemblance to the paratactic catalogue of a vernacular boundary clause. The progression of the narrative pattern 'Æthelflæd went here, and then here' sketches out the extent of Mercian control along its western, eastern, and northern borders.<sup>51</sup> The Mercian Register dedicates itself to the outer bounds of dynastic territory, functioning as a boundary clause developed and maintained over time. The bounded territory produced through this textual operation in the Edwardian annals and Mercian Register is furthermore explicitly tied to dynastic figures who effectively 'make' the land as they move across it.

After the Edwardian and Mercian annals, however, the style of the Chronicle changes dramatically, shifting to a sporadic mix of barren annal-numbers, brief

<sup>49</sup> The annals are spatially distinguished in the manuscript by initial capitals and indentation, but are syntactically linked by the conjunction *ða*. Of the Mercian Register's sixteen annals in B, all but four (*s.a.* 910, 911, 914, 915) begin with *her*; none of the four annals lacking *her* have an annal-number in the manuscript.

<sup>50</sup> Taylor, *MS B*, p. 50. 'In this year, through the grace of God, Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians, went with all the Mercians to Tamworth and built the stronghold there in early summer, and afterwards before Lammas the one at Stafford; then in the next year the one at Eddisbury in early summer, and later that same year, in late harvest, the one at Warwick; then in the next year, after midwinter, the one at Chirbury, and then at *Weardbyrig*, and in the same year before midwinter the one at Runcorn.'

<sup>51</sup> While she was a member of the West Saxon royal family, Æthelflæd is represented in the Mercian Register as the leader of the Mercians. The political relationship between Wessex and Mercia in the early tenth century was complex, but it is clear that Æthelflæd (like her husband Æthelred before her) held power in Mercia under the authority of the house of Wessex, and that she acted in collaboration with her brother. See Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians', pp. 19–39.

annals, and poems. This shift has often been seen as a degeneration in both quality and quantity: Dorothy Whitelock described the post-Edwardian annals as sharing 'in the general decay in historical writing',<sup>52</sup> while Pauline Stafford observed that the Chronicle 'dries up in the tenth century'.<sup>53</sup> Annals 924–46AB include intermittent short annals and the poems *The Battle of Brunanburh* and *The Capture of the Five Boroughs*. The material for the reign of Athelstan (924–39) is surprisingly brief, as is that for the reign of Edmund (939–46). The inclusion of poetic content in this section of the Chronicle, remarkable enough in its own right, appears even more dramatic within the context of the spare prose annals surrounding the poems.

Recent critical responses to the Chronicle poems have regarded them as expressions of an emerging English nationalism driven by their praise of the West Saxon kings.<sup>54</sup> In this view, the poems function as political texts which continue the Chronicle's ideological work of championing the West Saxon dynasty.<sup>55</sup> The poems and prose annals more specifically advance the investment in territorial claims begun in the Edwardian annals and the Mercian Register, even though they do not contain the same details of movement across a political landscape. The prose annals endorse dynastic continuity and demonstrate the military success of kings in border areas, while the poems forge a link between land and ruler through their celebration of instrumental English victories. While the poems have received most of the critical attention, the surrounding prose annals work in concert with the poems to accentuate the extension of dynastic territory under individual royal figures.

<sup>52</sup> *EHD*, p. 110.

<sup>53</sup> Pauline Stafford, *Unification and Conquest: A Political and Social History of England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (London, 1989), p. 6.

<sup>54</sup> Janet Thormann, for example, has argued that 'the poems produce the idea of a national history that legitimizes West-Saxon power as national authority' (Thormann, 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Poems', p. 66). Thomas Bredehoft more recently has argued that *Brunanburh* 'continues the dynastic focus of the Edwardian annals and the Mercian Register, but in the broader context of a nationalizing narrative' (*TH*, p. 102). Bredehoft takes a similar view of *The Capture of the Five Boroughs*, claiming that it too continues 'the focus on dynastic succession and English nationalism' (*ibid.*, p. 103). See also Scragg, 'Reading of *Brunanburh*'.

<sup>55</sup> Malcolm Parkes has suggested that the compilation of CCCC 173 in the mid-tenth century itself 'suggests a conscious attempt [...] to preserve the tradition of the West Saxon royal house in its purest form': 'The Palaeography of the Parker Manuscript of the Chronicle, Laws and Sedulius, and Historiography at Winchester in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries', *ASE*, 5 (1976), 149–71 (p. 167).

Annals 924–46A were entered by a single hand working in one stint sometime around 950 and can subsequently be read as a contained unit.<sup>56</sup> The 924 annal records the death of Edward and succession of Athelstan, omitting any reference to Ælfweard's brief moment on the throne (present in B); this omission constructs a narrative of uninterrupted dynastic succession populated by effective leaders. The next annal to mention Athelstan, *s.a.* 933, records his military success in Scotland, establishing his efficacy in policing territorial borders. *The Battle of Brunanburh* continues this focus on land and dynastic succession by portraying Athelstan and Edmund as Edward's heirs and as able guardians of the kingdom:

afaran Eadweardes, swa him geǣþele wæs  
 from cneomægum, þæt hi æt campe oft  
 wiþ laþra gehwæne land ealgodon,  
 hord and hamas.<sup>57</sup> (7–10a)

Just as the poem identifies Athelstan and Edmund as the rightful keepers of *land*, *hord*, and *hamas*, it specifies that the allied Scots and Danes have come seeking *land*, arriving from 'ofer æra gebland | on lides bosme land gesohtun' (26b–27).<sup>58</sup> The stakes of the battle are territorial, and the poem commemorates the English victory both through panegyric and through its account of enemy forces driven from the island. The poem revels in detailing how the invading forces were cut down and disgraced in the battle, lingering over the particular losses and humiliations of the two enemy leaders, Anlaf and Constantine. The enemy survivors, beaten and downcast, can only flee to their ships and return to lands elsewhere:

Gewitan him þa Norþmen negledcnearrum,  
 dreorig daraða laf, on Dingesmere  
 ofer deop wæter Difelin secan,  
 7 eft Hiraland, æwiscmode.<sup>59</sup> (53–56)

The Northern forces are forced from the field and back onto the water, driven off the land entirely. In contrast to the beaten retreat of the *Norþmen*, Athelstan and

<sup>56</sup> Dumville, 'Origins', pp. 56–66. See also Dumville, 'English Square Minuscul: Mid-Century Phases', pp. 144–51.

<sup>57</sup> Bately, *MSA*, pp. 70–71. 'Edward's heirs, as it was natural for them from their noble descent, that they in battle often protected land, treasure, and homes against any enemy.'

<sup>58</sup> Bately, *MSA*, p. 71. 'over the mingling waves in a ship's bosom, they came for land'.

<sup>59</sup> Bately, *MSA*, p. 72. 'Then the Northmen, downcast survivors of spears, took themselves to nailed vessels, out onto Ding's Mere to seek Dublin over the deep water, back to Ireland, shamed in spirit.'

Edmund enjoy a triumphant homecoming: ‘Swilce þa gebroþer begen ætsamne, | cyning 7 æþeling, cyþþe sohton, | Wesseaxena land, wiges hremige’ (57–59).<sup>60</sup> The opposition between the West Saxon leaders and their enemies — linked by the conjunction *swilce* — is clear. The humiliated invaders are forced off the very land they came to take, while the West Saxon leaders return to land unequivocally their own (*Wesseaxena land*). The poem’s closing lines bolster this claim to the land by linking the current English victory to the distant past of the Germanic migrations:

Ne wearð wæl mare  
on þis eighlande   æfer gieta  
folces gefylled   beforan þissum  
sweordes ecgum,   þæs þe us secgað bec,  
ealde uðwitan,   siþþan eastan hider  
Engle 7 Seaxe   up becoman,  
ofer brad brimu   Brytene sohtan,  
wlance wigsmiþas,   Weealles ofercoman,  
eorlas arhwate   eard begeatan.<sup>61</sup> (65b–73)

These lines envision the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons as a foundational moment in which the Germanic peoples claim their new homeland.<sup>62</sup> Even though they arrived as invaders from across the sea much like the ignoble *Norðmen* repelled at *Brunanburh* had done, the poem presents the Angles and Saxons with positive epithets such as ‘wlance wigsmiþas’ and ‘eorlas arhwate’. The adjective *arhwat* appears only in *The Battle of Brunanburh* and can be translated as ‘glory-bold’ or ‘active in glory, active and glorious’.<sup>63</sup> The noun *ar* can signify honour, worth, or glory, but in a legal sense it can also mean ‘landed property’ or the possession of

<sup>60</sup> Bately, *MS A*, p. 72. ‘Just as the brothers both together, king and ætheling, sought their home, the land of the West Saxons, triumphant in the fight.’

<sup>61</sup> Bately, *MS A*, p. 72. ‘Nor was there a greater slaughter of a people felled by the edges of swords ever yet on this island before this, as books tell us, old scholars, since the Angles and Saxons came here from the east, sought out Britain over the broad sea, bold makers of war overcame the Britons, glorious warriors took the land.’

<sup>62</sup> Nicholas Howe influentially argued that the *adventus Saxonum* served as a myth of cultural origin for the Anglo-Saxons, and that its invocation in *Brunanburh* ‘signifies that they remain worthy to hold the island that had been won by their ancestors’: *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England*, rev. edn (Notre Dame, 2001), p. 31.

<sup>63</sup> DOE, s.v. ‘arhwæt’. See also *The Battle of Brunanburh*, ed. by Alistair Campbell (London, 1938), p. 121, n. 73. Campbell suggests that ‘the likeliest meaning of *arhwæt* is “abounding in glory”, “glorious”’.

that property.<sup>64</sup> This unique poetic compound carries a multivalent meaning: it couples the idea of personal distinction with the holding of property. The poem suggests in a single word that the *eorlas* were worthy of the homeland they gained, just as the contemporary scions of the West Saxon dynasty are worthy holders of that same *eard*. This ancestral *eard* historically prefigures the *land*, *hord*, and *hamas* placed under the protection of Athelstan and Edmund in the poem's early lines. *The Battle of Brunanburh* memorializes an important military victory for the English, but it also establishes a historical basis for the authority of West Saxon kings over their collective lands.

The victory at Brunanburh demonstrated Athelstan's ability to meet an organized allied threat to the kingdom's northern borders. Athelstan was able to repel a coalition of Norse, Scottish, and Cumbrian forces, and his victory, in Stenton's triumphal words, 'has a distinctive place among the events which made for the ultimate unity of England [...] a state which embraced the descendants of Alfred's Danish enemies, and a civilization which united them to Christian Europe'.<sup>65</sup> Athelstan held authority over more territories and peoples than any of his predecessors, and he successfully secured the kingdom's borders to the north and west. After Athelstan's death in 939, however, Edmund faced renewed aggression in the north from Anlaf Guthfrithson, the same Norse leader who had been defeated at Brunanburh in 937. In his campaign Anlaf took the region known as the Five Boroughs, whose inhabitants had been part of the English state for two decades but were now under Norse rule.<sup>66</sup> A and B say nothing of these events, noting only that Edmund succeeded Athelstan *s.a.* 940. This omission of the territorial losses to Anlaf in the north maintains the Chronicle narrative of uninterrupted dynastic succession and expansion begun in the Edwardian annals. The Chronicle presents a selective narrative, writing and updating a bounded domain held under the *anweald* of the West Saxon dynasty.

The first full entry for Edmund's reign commemorates his liberation of the Five Boroughs from Norse control in 942. Like *The Battle of Brunanburh*, this poem celebrates a king's ability to secure territory. The poem lauds Edmund with a number of epithets, beginning and ending with the half-line, 'Eadmund cyning' (1a and 13b). Within these appositive titles for the king, the poem contains a catalogue of

<sup>64</sup> DOE, *s.v.* 'ar', C.1 and C.3.

<sup>65</sup> Stenton, *ASE*, p. 343.

<sup>66</sup> Stenton, *ASE*, p. 357.

place-names for the Five Boroughs, followed by a description of the Anglo-Danes now freed from heathen bondage:

Her Eadmund cyning, Engla þeoden,  
 maga mundbora, Myrce geeode,  
 dyre dædfruma, swa Dor scadeþ,  
 Hwitanwylles geat 7 Humber ea,  
 brada brimstream. Burga fife,  
 Ligoraceaster 7 Lin[d]cylene  
 7 Snotingham, swylce Stamford,  
 eac Deoraby. Dæne wæran ær  
 under Norðmannum nyde gebegde  
 on hæþenra hæfteclommum  
 lange þraga, oþ hie alyse eft  
 for his weorþscipe wiggendra hleo,  
 afera Eadwardes, Eadmund cyning.<sup>67</sup>

The greater part of the poem — eighteen of its twenty-six half-lines — comprises either appositive phrases for Edmund or specific place-names and locations. The Dore, Whitwell Gap, and the Humber River marked the western and northern limits of Edmund's push into Mercia,<sup>68</sup> and their notation here reinscribes the territorial limits of his authority. The poem links land to ruler, structurally placing the region of the Five Boroughs both within Edmund's authority and within specific geographical markers. The poem declares the extension of political authority over a specific region and its people, noting specific place-names (the Five Boroughs) and linear features (the river Humber) in order to establish a bounded territory.

The final three annals for the reign of Edmund record his conquests in Northumbria (*s.a.* 944) and Cumbria (*s.a.* 945) and his death in 946. The 946 annal also records the succession of Eadred and his campaign in Northumbria followed by the submission of the Scots. These three annals continue the attention to land and dynastic succession evident in the preceding tenth-century annals, even though they lack the methodical documentation evident in the Edwardian and Mercian

<sup>67</sup> Bately, *MS A*, p. 73. 'In this year King Edmund, prince of the English, defender of men, bold doer of deeds, conquered Mercia — bounded by the Dore, Whitwell Gap, and the Humber river, a broad waterway — [and] five boroughs: Leicester, Lincoln, and Nottingham, as well as Stamford and Derby. The Danes previously had been under the Northmen, pressed by duress in heathens' bonds for a long time until Edmund, Edward's offspring, protector of warriors, through his worthiness freed them again.'

<sup>68</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ed. by Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, ASPR, 6 (New York, 1942), p. xlii. See also, Hill, *Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England*, no. 102 at p. 60.

annals, using instead an annalistic shorthand to record political submission and allegiance in border areas. This shorthand stands alongside poems celebrating monumental military victories and the territory they secured for the West Saxon dynasty. Despite the change in style in 924–46A, the Chronicle continues to write the bounds of the domain, inscribing them through the actions of royal figures.

Read as a composite unit, the post-Alfredian annals for 910–46AB show royal leaders securing and expanding dynastic lands, thereby satisfying one of the criteria for a strong ruler ('eac ut hiora eðel gerymdon') advanced by Alfred in his prefatory letter to the Old English *Cura Pastoralis*. The Chronicle writes the map of this territorial expansion, charting its moving boundaries in order to make (and reinscribe) a land and its resident peoples under the growing dominion of the West Saxon house. Annals 910–46AB share with tenth-century diplomas a specific mode for writing land in the vernacular, and for constituting an idea of bounded land which can then be granted or claimed into longstanding human possession.<sup>69</sup>

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# GEOGRAPHIES OF POWER IN THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE: THE ROYAL ESTATES OF ANGLO-SAXON WESSEX

Ryan Lavelle

## *Introduction*

Considering the importance of royal lands in Anglo-Saxon England as an indicator of royal power, the lack of explicit references to the royal *tun* in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle may appear to be a curious state of affairs when compared to annalistic sources from mainland Europe. In the latter group, the recording of royal itineraries in some detail is relatively common, showing something of the role of royal estates during the Easter and Christmas festivals.<sup>1</sup> The closest that Anglo-Saxon scholars are able to come to reconstructing any form of royal itinerary, in the manner of the studies of Carolingian and Ottonian kingship achieved by Carlrichard Brühl and John W. Bernhardt,<sup>2</sup> is with the series of charters from the reign of Athelstan. Recording what is usually thought to be the place of assembly, often places equating with royal estates later recorded in

<sup>1</sup> For detailed itineraries of Charlemagne, including references to a number of royal villas as well as campaigns outside the Frankish realm, see *Annales Regni Francorum*, ed. by Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG, 6 (Hannover, 1895), *s.a.* 771–801, pp. 32–116; *Charlemagne: Translated Sources*, trans. by Paul David King (Kendal, 1987), pp. 74–94.

<sup>2</sup> Carlrichard Brühl, *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium Regis*, 2 vols (Cologne, 1968). John W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936–1075*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th series, 21 (Cambridge, 1993).

Domesday Book, these charters fill a relative lacuna in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's record for the reign of Athelstan.<sup>3</sup>

Nonetheless, while the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is reticent about the status of sites visited by rulers, it can provide insights into the exercise of royal power at central places. While the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle does not explicitly note the status of sites, nor does it record every royal movement, the sites of political events it does note may often have been royal estate centres. This is especially apparent as the Vikings seemingly had a policy of attacking such centres, both because they were sources of supplies for feeding large armies and because of their political importance.<sup>4</sup> The necessity of defending such places may have resulted in their becoming the sites of battles and therefore likely to be mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

Attention in this paper will be concentrated upon Wessex in the later Anglo-Saxon period: the depredations of the Great Viking Army and the activities of Swein Forkbeard and his contemporaries are fruitful topics of inquiry, by virtue of both the documentation and the Vikings' practical strategy. If nothing else, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the reigns of King Alfred and King Æthelred II is a catalogue of Viking activity. But does that also mean that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle could therefore be taken as a catalogue of royal estate centres? As with the records of Athelstan's assemblies in charters and legal codes, estates recorded in Domesday Book as providing the 'farm of one night' dominate to some degree in accounts of important events in the Chronicle.<sup>5</sup> A consideration of significant

<sup>3</sup> Richard Drögereit, 'Gab es eine Angelsächsische Königskanzlei?', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, 13 (1935), 335–436; Peter Sawyer, 'The Royal *Tun* in Pre-Conquest England', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. by Patrick Wormald with Donald Bullough and Roger Collins (Oxford, 1983), pp. 273–99 (pp. 286–87). See also Ryan Lavelle, 'Why Grateley? Reflections on Anglo-Saxon Kingship in a Hampshire Landscape', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 60 (2005), 154–69.

<sup>4</sup> Richard P. Abels, 'English Logistics and Military Administration, 871–1066: The Impact of the Viking Wars', in *Military Aspects of Scandinavian Society in a European Perspective, AD 1–1300: Papers from an International Research Seminar at the Danish National Museum, Copenhagen, 2–4 May 1996*, ed. by Anne Nørgård Jørgensen and Birthe L. Clausen (Copenhagen, 1997), pp. 257–65 (pp. 258–59); Nicholas P. Brooks, 'England in the Ninth Century: The Crucible of Defeat', *TRHS*, 5th series, 29 (1979), 1–20 (pp. 9–11).

<sup>5</sup> For 'farm of one night' estates, see Pauline A. Stafford, 'The "Farm of One Night" and the Organization of King Edward's Estates in Domesday Book', *Economic History Review*, 33 (1980),

ninth- to eleventh-century events in the Chronicle in combination with Domesday Book's records of royal estates can provide insights into the exercise of royal power and its perception at central places and in their hinterlands.

Following Barbara Yorke's working definition of Wessex as the historic counties of Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, Hampshire and Berkshire, this paper focuses on Wessex as a kingdom in the ninth century and as a royal heartland in the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>6</sup> As the actions of some tenth-century kings showed, kings and their entourages were not confined to the former kingdom, but royal progress outside Wessex could in itself be politically significant, indicative of an ambitious agenda, such as in the course of Edward the Elder's or Athelstan's campaigns,<sup>7</sup> and therefore the focus of the paper moves outside Wessex where it is particularly interesting to do so. Nonetheless, as an area of some equivalence to the Ottonian *Königslandschaften*, albeit on a smaller scale, in which the royal family held estates and had close ecclesiastical connections,<sup>8</sup> Wessex was an important political space right up to the Norman Conquest.

This paper is therefore a study of what the Chronicle can contribute to our understanding of perceptions of Anglo-Saxon royal power in the landscape. Building on observations made by Peter Sawyer,<sup>9</sup> this paper examines the evidence for royal estates provided by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Related Latin texts — the chronicles of Æthelweard and John of Worcester, the so-called *Annals of St Neots*, and Asser's *Life of King Alfred*<sup>10</sup> — will be used alongside other sources, such as the evidence from Domesday Book and the corpus of charters.

491–502; Ryan Lavelle, 'The Farm of One Night and the Organisation of Royal Estates in Late Anglo-Saxon Wessex', *Haskins Society Journal*, 14 (2005 for 2003), 53–82.

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of the area of Wessex, see Barbara Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1995), pp. 1–7, although see her reservations on the decline of regional differences in the eleventh century: pp. 147–48.

<sup>7</sup> For discussion of royal itineraries, see David Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 84–92.

<sup>8</sup> Timothy Reuter, 'The Making of England and Germany, 850–1050: Points of Comparison and Difference', in *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Alfred P. Smyth (London, 1998), pp. 53–70.

<sup>9</sup> Sawyer, 'Royal Tun'.

<sup>10</sup> *Æthelweard; John of Worcester*, vol. II; *The Annals of St Neots with Vita Prima Sancti Neoti*, ed. by David Dumville and Michael Lapidge, ASCCE, 17 (Cambridge, 1985); Asser, and Keynes and Lapidge.

A discussion of the terminology of royal estates in these sources is followed by an analysis of the locations of events recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which took place at royal centres, especially the sites of some battles. Although the later entries of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are demonstrative of the development of English identity, and in her recent volume Alice Sheppard has discussed the Chronicle's construction of identity through lordship,<sup>11</sup> in this article the Chronicle is addressed as an account of the demonstration of kingship. In addressing the practice of kingship as perceived in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the paper will make use of case studies in episodes recorded from the reigns of Alfred and Æthelred II. Both of these case studies reflect notions of the render and entertainment (*feorm*) inherent to perceptions of royal dignity. Attention to such issues reveals a strong undercurrent of interest in the rights and responsibilities of the royal family.

### *The Terminology of Royal Estates and Royal Residences*

Sawyer took an admirably comprehensive approach in his studies of the royal *tun*, noting all evidence of royal presence, except where sources explicitly made a reference to a king's presence in a major religious centre or large town.<sup>12</sup> It is important to outline at this point that the focus of the present paper is on the twin issues of control of lands and the meaning of the delivery of render to the king at a territorial centre, whether the sources refer to a royal estate, royal centre, *villa regia*, or king's *tun*. Pertinent here is James Campbell's rather loose definition made in reference to Bede's *villae regiae*, a definition which is worth citing in full:

An English *villa regia* was not a great estate in the sense of a discrete block of land owned and exploited in special ways. Rather it was the centre of a fairly wide area all or most of whose people owed something to it. If, as may well have been, there were lands within such an area which were particularly bound and exploited from it, they probably formed a kind of archipelago. There would have been no point in trying to decide whether the central place of such a complex was termed a *villa* or *vicus*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Sheppard, *FK*.

<sup>12</sup> Sawyer, 'Royal *Tun*', pp. 289–99. The towns excluded were Canterbury, Lincoln, London, Rochester, and Winchester.

<sup>13</sup> James Campbell, 'Bede's Words for Places', in *Names, Words and Graves: Early Medieval Settlement*, ed. by Peter Hayes Sawyer (Leeds, 1978), pp. 34–54 (p. 44). See also the warning against anachronistic references to 'estates' in the early Saxon period in Stephen R. Bassett, 'In Search of

Indeed, as I have shown elsewhere, the reference may have been as much to the constituent parts of such an 'archipelago' of estates as to the centre itself.<sup>14</sup>

As Sawyer pointed out, there is only one pre-Conquest record of a place referred to as a *cyninges tun* in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under the entry for 789, when Vikings are recorded as first arriving in Wessex.<sup>15</sup> The location is not identified in the vernacular Chronicle but, if Æthelweard's account can be followed, it was probably Dorchester (Dorset) or part of the Dorchester estate,<sup>16</sup> near where the three Viking ships landed.<sup>17</sup> Two other entries, for 899/900 and 1001, describe places by the term *tun* or *ham*, though not *cyninges tun*.<sup>18</sup> The A Chronicle's reference to 'Waltham' in 1001, in an entry which was particularly concerned with events close to the chronicler's Winchester base, is pertinent here. The reference was almost certainly to Bishop's Waltham, which had been granted to the Bishopric of Winchester a century earlier by Edward the Elder.<sup>19</sup> This example shows that

the Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms', in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. by Stephen R. Bassett (London, 1989), pp. 3–27 (p. 20).

<sup>14</sup> Lavelle, 'Why Grateley?'.

<sup>15</sup> Whitelock, *ASC*, pp. 111–12 (for the sake of clarity, citations are to the year to which the entry refers rather than the various MS years); Sawyer, 'Royal Tun', p. 274.

<sup>16</sup> Æthelweard, *s.a.* 789, pp. 26–27. One night's farm was recorded in Domesday Book as being provided by Dorchester, Fordington, Sutton Poyntz, Gillingham, and 'Frome' (all in Dorset): *DB: Dorset*, 1:4 (see Table 6 below; name forms in references to Domesday Book follow *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation*, ed. by Ann Williams and G. H. Martin (London, 2002)). S 347, a charter dating from AD 891, relates the later acquisition of Sutton Poyntz, on the Dorset coast near Dorchester and Portland, from the *comes* (?ealdorman) Beorthwulf, by Alfred, perhaps showing the King's strategic interests in the land here. For discussion of the devolution of defence, see Robin Fleming, 'Monastic Lands and England's Defence in the Viking Age', *EHR*, 100 (1985), 247–65; for discussion of Dorchester and its environs, see Lavelle, 'Farm of One Night', pp. 66–67.

<sup>17</sup> The identification of the landing site is Portland (Dorset), not located by the main stock of the Chronicle but by the *Annals of St Neots, s.a.* 789, ed. by Dumville and Lapidge, p. 39. For caution regarding the identification of Portland as the target of the eighth-century raid, see Laurence Keen, 'The Towns of Dorset', in *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England*, ed. by Jeremy Haslam (Chichester, 1984), pp. 203–47 (p. 207).

<sup>18</sup> These places are Wimborne (Dorset), *Twinham* (Hants) (now Christchurch, Dorset): *ASC* 899/900, Whitelock, *ASC*, pp. 58–59; Pinhoe, Broadclyst, Teignton (Devon), 'many other good residences which we cannot name' ('7 eac fela oðra godra hama þe we genemnan ne cunnan'), Waltham (Hants): *ASC* 1001A, Whitelock, *ASC*, pp. 85–86.

<sup>19</sup> S 372.

a reference to an estate centre did not exclusively indicate an estate in royal hands and therefore, as will be shown, the context of the entry must be considered.<sup>20</sup>

Bede is rather more forthcoming on royal villas than the Chronicle, referring to five places by name, including Bamburgh and, famously, Yeavering (both now in Northumberland);<sup>21</sup> curiously, Asser cites the same number as Bede in England with one more, Chézy-sur-Marne, in western Francia.<sup>22</sup> This different treatment in Latin and vernacular sources is an issue to which I shall return.

There is a record of a 'palace' in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, from some centuries later, in the C-manuscript's entry for 1049. Here too the Chronicle could be perceived to be singularly unhelpful as it records a palace (*palant*) outside England, at Nijmegen: it belonged to the Emperor Henry III and was stormed by Baldwin, count of Flanders.<sup>23</sup> However, there is an English context to this record (King Edward was then involved in stationing ships at Sandwich for the Emperor), and the Chronicle's adaptation of a Latin word, *palatium*, to describe an imperial residence as *palant* is potentially revealing.<sup>24</sup> This is a unique occurrence of the word in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Beyond glossal references, there is only a small corpus of other vernacular sources which record palaces, all in contexts from outside Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>25</sup> The Old English version of Paulus Orosius's *Seven*

<sup>20</sup> See Table 6 below. I consider the significance of Wimborne and *Twinham* in my paper, 'The Politics of Rebellion: The Ætheling Æthelwold and West Saxon Royal Succession, 899–902', in *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. by Patricia Skinner, Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 22 (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 51–80.

<sup>21</sup> Sawyer, 'Royal *Tun*', p. 274, citing Bamburgh (Bede, *HE*, III, 6, p. 230, and III, 12, p. 252), *Campodunum* (*HE*, II, 14, p. 188), Millfield (Northumberland) (*HE*, II, 14, p. 188), Rendlesham (Suffolk) (*HE*, III, 22, p. 284), and Yeavering (*HE*, II, 14, p. 188). An unnamed place in the region of *Loidis* (?Leeds) is also recorded by Bede, *HE*, II, 14, p. 188.

<sup>22</sup> These are Wantage (Berkshire) (*Asser*, Chapter 1, p. 1; Keynes and Lapidge, p. 67), Chippenham (Wiltshire) (*Asser*, Chapters 9 and 52, pp. 8 and 52; Keynes and Lapidge, pp. 69 and 83), Wedmore (Somerset) (*Asser*, Chapter 56, p. 47; Keynes and Lapidge, p. 85), Dean (Sussex) (*Asser*, Chapter 79, p. 64; Keynes and Lapidge, p. 93), *Leonaforð* (*Asser*, Chapter 81, p. 67; Keynes and Lapidge, p. 96), Chézy-sur-Marne (dep. Aisne) (*Asser*, Chapter 84, p. 71; Keynes and Lapidge, p. 98).

<sup>23</sup> ASC 1049CD.

<sup>24</sup> For a similar reference to an imperial continental palace, compare here the Latin reference to the 'palacio novo' at Frankfurt in the *Annals of St Neots*, s.a. 823, ed. by Dumville and Lapidge, p. 41.

<sup>25</sup> Bosworth Toller, p. 772. *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English*, ed. by A. Healey and R. Venezky (Toronto, 1980) records the range of references: *Palant*, *Palendsan*, *Palentan*, *Palent*, *Palenticum*, *Pallente*.

*Books of History against the Pagans* refers to the allegedly secret Christianity of the Roman Emperor Marcus Julius Philippus, who celebrated ‘miclan feorme’ (great feasts) dedicated to Christ ‘æt þæs caseres palendsan’ in place of the expected pagan festivities.<sup>26</sup> The other occurrence of a palace, in Ælfric’s homily on the Book of Esther, concerns Queen Vashti, who provided a feast (again, *feorm*) for the women ‘on þam mæran palente þær þær se cyning wæs oftost wunigende’ as a counterpoint to the feast of her husband, King Xerxes, for the nobility of Persia;<sup>27</sup> in addition to taking a new wife, the King’s other response to Vashti’s refusal to obey his summons was to issue a decree, as his advisors told him, ‘þæt seo cwen Vasthi ne cume næfre heononforð into þinum pallente betwux þinum gebeorum’.<sup>28</sup> Perhaps significantly, Ælfric’s commentary lays an emphasis upon the palace where his Old Testament exemplar does not.<sup>29</sup> The third reference is in the *Old English Martyrology*, where the Latin term *palatium* appears in a metaphor for the heavenly paradise: the pagan Queen Alexandria ‘eode heo on hire palatium, þæt is on hire healle’.<sup>30</sup> It is perhaps revealing here that the audience required an in-text gloss. Such rare references hint at the perceived ‘special’ status of the imperial palace, including its association with the status of *feorm*. It might also be noted that such use of a loan word in the Chronicle can be compared with the use of the term *castel* (castle) in the D-manuscript for around the same time.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *The Old English Orosius*, ed. by Janet Bately, EETS, SS, 6 (London, 1980), pp. 143–44. ‘[A]t the emperor’s palaces’.

<sup>27</sup> B. Assmann, ‘Abt. Ælfric’s angelsächsische Bearbeitung des Buches Esther’, *Anglia*, 9 (1886), 25–38 (p. 28). ‘[I]n the glorious palace where the king most often dwelt’. An online edition is Stuart D. Lee, *Ælfric’s Homilies on Judith, Esther, and The Maccabees* <<http://users.ox.ac.uk/~stuart/kings/main.htm>>.

<sup>28</sup> Assmann, ‘Abt. Ælfric’s angelsächsische Bearbeitung’, p. 29. ‘[T]hat the Queen Vashti would never come henceforth into your palace among your guests’.

<sup>29</sup> Esther 1. 16–20. A search of the Fontes Anglo-Saxonici Project database does not return any other specific sources for Ælfric’s homily on Esther: *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: A Register of Written Sources Used by Anglo-Saxon Authors*, <<http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/>> [accessed June 2008].

<sup>30</sup> *An Old English Martyrology: Re-edited from Manuscripts in the Libraries of the British Museum and of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, ed. by George Herzfeld, EETS, OS, 116 (London, 1900), pp. 64–65. ‘[W]ent to her *palatium*, that is her hall’. I am grateful to Christine Rauer for this reference.

<sup>31</sup> ASC 1051D, Whitelock, *ASC*, pp. 117–18. Ann Williams, ‘A Bell-house and a Burh-geat: Lordly Residences in England before the Norman Conquest’, in *Medieval Knighthood IV: Papers from the Fifth Strawberry Hill Conference, 1990*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 221–40 (pp. 221–22).

It is appropriate here to remind ourselves of the significance of that most famous statement on the construction of royal halls, that in Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, Chapter 91:

De aulis et cambris regalibus, lapideis et ligneis suo iussu mirabiliter constructis? De villis regalibus lapideis antiqua positione motatis et in decentioribus locis regali imperio decentissime constructis?<sup>32</sup>

Here, as is well known, Asser reflects Chapter 17 of Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* on Charlemagne's public works.<sup>33</sup> Despite the evident majesty of these buildings which he is attempting to portray, Asser, like the Chronicle manuscripts, avoids the term *palatium*, even though of course he can hardly have been unaware of the term, not least as that is the word used by Einhard. Asser's statement also reflects a distinction between the private and public quarters of the King:<sup>34</sup> the private nature of the royal quarters might be emphasized here in contrast to the large-scale nature of a hall, both of which were presumably provided for by the render collected at royal estate centres. Although the ninth-century Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entries do not show such a distinction between private and public quarters, it is a theme which is implied in the Chronicle's C-manuscript entry for 1053, with its reference to a *kinges bure* in Winchester to which an ailing Earl Godwine was taken following his illness at a royal feast.<sup>35</sup>

Arguably then, there seems to have been a conscious sense that Anglo-Saxon *villae regiae* were not 'palaces' per se. If the term was reserved in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the great imperial palaces — Nijmegen was, after all, one of

<sup>32</sup> Asser, Chapter 91, p. 77; Keynes and Lapidge, p. 101: 'And what of the royal halls and chambers marvellously constructed of stone and wood at his command? And what of the royal residences of stone and masonry, moved from their old position and splendidly reconstructed at more appropriate places by his royal command?'

<sup>33</sup> Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. by George Waitz, MGH SRG, 25 (Hannover, 1911), ch. 17, p. 20; English translation by Paul E. Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier: The Complete Einhard*, Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures, 3 (Peterborough, ON, 1998), p. 26. See Anton Scharer, 'The Writing of History at King Alfred's Court', *EME*, 5 (1996), 177–206.

<sup>34</sup> See the candid portrait of an audience in the king's chamber in an early tenth-century charter relating to the estate at Fonthill (Wiltshire): S 1445. See Simon Keynes, 'The Fonthill Letter', in *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss*, ed. by Michael Korhammer, with Karl Reichl and Hans Sauer (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 53–97 (pp. 73–74), who notes the parallel with Einhard's portrait of Charlemagne: Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, ch. 24, p. 29; *Charlemagne's Courtier*, trans. by Dutton, pp. 31–32.

<sup>35</sup> ASC 1053C, Whitelock, *ASC*, p. 127.

Charlemagne's palaces recorded by Einhard <sup>36</sup> — a royal estate centre might be tacitly seen in a narrative Anglo-Saxon context as just that: the place to which render was brought. Therefore, there is a need to think about the surrounding landscape and the obligations of people within that landscape in order to understand the perceptions of geographies of power in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, an issue which will be discussed presently.

First, however, the question should be addressed as to why Latin texts refer to *villae regiae*, while the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle so rarely employs a vernacular equivalent. The very acknowledgement of the term in the Latin sources is significant. Of the six places named by Asser as *villae regiae*, Chippenham, Wedmore, and, in Francia, Chézy-sur-Marne are recorded in relevant entries of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the place-name only; Wantage, Dean, and *Leonaforð* are recorded by Asser independently of the Chronicle. Given that Asser met King Alfred at Dean and *Leonaforð*, and that Wantage was the place of Alfred's birth, one can be reasonably sure as to his knowledge: since he was close to the royal court, his identifications of *villae regiae* are presumably reliable or at least the result of a conscious choice. By comparison, beyond a reference to the sacking of the 'royal city' (*regiam urbem*) of Winchester in 860, <sup>37</sup> Æthelweard calls places *villae regiae* only in accounts relating to the period before the ninth century; one might suggest that these events were too far removed from Æthelweard's own time for his descriptions to be useful to the historian. <sup>38</sup> To take the earliest example — one referred to by Peter Sawyer, and one which moves us briefly outside the geographical and chronological bounds of this paper — Æthelweard refers to Limbury (Bedfordshire), Aylesbury (Buckinghamshire), Bensington (Benson, Oxfordshire), and Eynsham (Oxfordshire) as 'regias uillas' (i.e. *villae regiae*) in 571 when the vernacular chronicler merely names the places. <sup>39</sup> Wojtek Jezierski has recently drawn attention to Æthelweard's geographical awareness, which heightened the portrayal of Wessex's role in English unification. <sup>40</sup> Æthelweard's additional details on the sixth-century battles may be tenth-century interpretations of a ninth-century

<sup>36</sup> Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, ch. 17, p. 20; *Charlemagne's Courtier*, trans. by Dutton, p. 26.

<sup>37</sup> Æthelweard, *s.a.* 860, p. 35.

<sup>38</sup> The *villae regiae* are Limbury (Bedfordshire), Aylesbury (Buckinghamshire), Bensington (Benson, Oxfordshire), and Eynsham (Oxfordshire) (Æthelweard, *s.a.* 571, p. 13), Somerton (Somerset) (Æthelweard, *s.a.* 733, p. 21), and ?Dorchester (Dorset) (Æthelweard, *s.a.* 789, p. 27).

<sup>39</sup> Æthelweard, *s.a.* 571, p. 13. ASC 571. Sawyer, 'Royal Tun', pp. 274–75.

<sup>40</sup> Wojtek Jezierski, 'Æthelweardus Redivivus', *EME*, 13 (2005), 159–78 (pp. 162–68).

chronicler's interpretations of sixth-century events, but these interpretations nonetheless provide insights: such a well-placed tenth-century author as Æthelweard may have expected battles to have taken place at royal estate centres or at least he saw it as important to relate the fact that the estates were royal. Thus, while the sites mentioned above, Limbury, Aylesbury, Bensington, and Eynsham, may not necessarily have been *villae regiae* in the sixth century, Æthelweard either knew them as royal estates in the later tenth century or, from his knowledge of events in his own time, he assumed that they had been royal estates in the past.<sup>41</sup>

Such interpretations were presumably affected by experience. A charter of Edward the Martyr relating to land in Cornwall suggests that areas under Æthelweard's jurisdiction had suffered attacks.<sup>42</sup> Æthelweard's modern editor suggested a late 970s or early 980s date for the compilation of his Latin version of the Chronicle,<sup>43</sup> and, with this date in mind, the 982 attack upon Portland recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle assumes a parallel with 789.<sup>44</sup> It is noteworthy that Æthelweard, ealdorman of the south-western provinces, in whose jurisdiction Portland probably lay, was describing the hazards which could befall a fellow West Saxon royal agent during the course of his duties. In the later tenth century, to someone who presumably appreciated the significance of control of the landscape, royal estates were well understood.

With regard to John of Worcester, writing from a different background in the twelfth century and faced with a very different political landscape from that of Æthelweard but with a passionate interest in the pre-1066 complexion of his

<sup>41</sup> Three of the four estates appear to have had royal connections in Domesday Book. Sawyer, 'Royal Tun', p. 295, suggests that Limbury, unnamed in Domesday Book, was probably part of the royal estate organization of nearby Luton in the eleventh century: *DB: Bedfordshire*, 1:2a. Aylesbury and Bensington were royal manors in 1066: *DB: Buckinghamshire*, 1:1; *DB: Oxfordshire*, 1:1. Although Eynsham's pre-Conquest holder was not recorded, the manor being recorded only as a post-Conquest holding of the Bishop of Lincoln, a charter of Æthelred II, dated to 1005, records the King's confirmation of the foundation of Eynsham by a certain Æthelmær, who was a kinsman of the King (and, not implausibly, was the son of Ealdorman Æthelweard himself: see his entry on the *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* Web site <<http://www.pase.ac.uk>>, under 'Æthelmær 22'); *DB: Oxfordshire*, 6:6; S 911.

<sup>42</sup> S 832.

<sup>43</sup> Campbell, 'Introduction', in *Æthelweard*, p. xiii. See also Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 – c. 1307* (London, 1974), pp. 42–45.

<sup>44</sup> ASC 982C; Whitelock, *ASC*, p. 80; *Æthelweard, s.a. 789*, pp. 26–27. The death of Ealdorman Æthelhelm while fighting Vikings at Portland may also have been relevant to Æthelweard: ASC 840, Whitelock, *ASC*, p. 42; *Æthelweard, s.a. 789*, p. 30.

country,<sup>45</sup> the historian encounters a record which is more consistent in recording *villae regiae* into the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>46</sup> In part this was because John of Worcester was influenced by a range of sources, but John's interpolations may have some utility for interpreting royal estates in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. After all, his explanation of the meaning of the name *Kingston* in his record of Athelstan's coronation suggests that information on this was consciously incorporated.<sup>47</sup> This reflects the possibility that John of Worcester may be especially useful because if he wrote for an audience which included non-English speakers, he clarifies subjects that a native speaker would take for granted.<sup>48</sup>

Nonetheless, it should be said that John of Worcester does not simply refer to every place where an event of significance took place as a royal estate. Some sites are recorded as royal villas but for others, like Æthelweard before him, John refers to mere 'places'. Had all the sites referred to by John of Worcester as *villae regiae* equated with post-Conquest royal holdings, it might have been assumed that he was influenced by what he knew from his own day. However, as Table 5 shows, three of the ten places described by John as *villae regiae* were not in royal hands in the late eleventh century, according to the record of Domesday Book. In Domesday Book Pucklechurch (Gloucestershire) appears as an estate of the Abbot of Glastonbury, to whom it had been granted at some point following King Edmund's

<sup>45</sup> James Campbell, 'Some Twelfth-Century Views of the Anglo-Saxon Past', *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 131–50.

<sup>46</sup> I have focused on references from the beginning of the ninth century to the Norman Conquest: Chippenham (*John of Worcester*, s.a. 853 and 878, II, 266 and 308), Reading (Berkshire) (*John of Worcester*, s.a. 871, II, 286), Chézy-sur-Marne (dep. Aisne) (*John of Worcester*, s.a. 887, II, 325), Milton (Kent) (*John of Worcester*, s.a. 893, II, 339), *Twinham* (Christchurch, Hampshire; now Christchurch, Dorset) (*John of Worcester*, s.a. 901, II, 354), *Tribur* (now Trebur, Hesse) (*John of Worcester*, s.a. 906, II, 360), Hook Norton (Oxfordshire) (*John of Worcester*, s.a. 914, II, 366), Farndon (Cheshire) (*John of Worcester*, s.a. 924, II, 384), Kingston (Surrey) (*John of Worcester*, s.a. 924, II, 384; though compare his other references, s.a. 946 and 955, II, 400 and 404), Bamburgh (Northumberland) (described as 'regia urbe': *John of Worcester*, s.a. 926, II, 386), Pucklechurch (Gloucestershire) (*John of Worcester*, s.a. 946, II, 398), Calne (Wiltshire) (*John of Worcester*, s.a. 977, II, 428), Andover (Hampshire) (*John of Worcester*, s.a. 994, II, 444). I am grateful to Patrick McGurk for his correspondence on this issue.

<sup>47</sup> *John of Worcester*, s.a. 924, II, 384. Duncan Probert, 'Towards a Reassessment of "Kingston" Place Names', *Journal of English Place-Name Studies*, 40 (2008), 7–22, explores the significance of this place-name element in greater depth.

<sup>48</sup> On the spoken and written languages of post-Conquest society, see Ian Short, 'Language and Literature', in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill and Elisabeth van Houts (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 191–213.

**Table 5. Places referred to by John of Worcester as *villae regiae*, with corresponding references to the pre-Conquest and 1086 holders of the estates recorded in Domesday Book.**

Place	Reference in John of Worcester's <i>Chronicle</i>	Domesday Reference (Phillimore edn)	1066 landholder	1086 landholder
Chippenham, Wilts.	853 and 878, II, 266 and 308	Wilts. 1:5	King Edward	King William
Reading, Berks.	871, II, 286	Berks. 1:41	King Edward	King William
Milton, Kent	893, II, 339	Kent 1:3	King Edward	King William
Twinham, Hants (now Christchurch, Dors.)	901, II, 354	Hants 1:28	King Edward	King William
Hook Norton, Oxon.	914, II, 366	Oxon. 28:6	Three brothers	Robert d'Oilly
Farndon, Ches.	924, II, 384	Ches. B3, 14:1	Bishop of Chester, Earl Edwin of Mercia	Hugh, earl of Chester
Kingston, Surrey	924, II, 384	Surrey 1:8	King Edward	King William
Pucklechurch, Glos.	946, II, 398	Glos. 8:1	Glastonbury Abbey	Glastonbury Abbey
Calne, Wilts.	977, II, 428	Wilts. 1:1	King Edward	King William
Andover, Hants	994, II, 444	Hants 1:41	King Edward	King William

death.<sup>49</sup> Of course, while John of Worcester may have made best guesses or, at worst, fabricated details, it is also possible that he had access to independent records. After all, it is hardly uncommon to find a royal estate later in the hands of a major monastic house, and the unusual circumstances of the death of Edmund may explain why a record was made of the grant of the estate of Pucklechurch to Glastonbury.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> *DB: Gloucestershire*, 8:1. Lesley Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury: Church and Endowment* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 211–14.

<sup>50</sup> A recent discussion on the descent of 'protected' royal lands, which goes beyond the scope of the title, is Patrick Wormald, 'On *pa wepnedhealfe*: Kingship and Royal Property from Æthelwulf to Edward the Elder', in Higham and Hill, pp. 264–79 (pp. 271–74). See also David N. Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural and Ecclesiastical Revival* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 29–54.

Some corroboration can also be found for the status of Farndon (Cheshire), where Edward the Elder died. This was recorded by John of Worcester as a royal vill, where the Mercian Register of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle merely records the location.<sup>51</sup> Domesday Book records that although the larger estate at Farndon was held by the Bishop of Chester before and after the Conquest, a smaller estate was held by the Earl of Chester in 1086, an estate which had formerly been held by Edwin, earl of Mercia.<sup>52</sup> If the earls of Mercia were in possession of royal estates for 'official' purposes,<sup>53</sup> presumably Farndon was one of these estates.<sup>54</sup> Finally, although Hook Norton (Oxfordshire) was not recorded in Domesday Book as being in royal hands before or after the Conquest, John of Worcester refers to it as a royal estate in his record of its attack by a Viking force in 914.<sup>55</sup> Hook Norton was not the only place to be attacked, but the fact that John only records Hook Norton as a royal estate ('et in regia uilla Hokernetune et in multis aliis uillis') suggests that he was aware of a difference in status between the estates.

Although the more assiduous records of related Latin texts highlight the lacunae in references to royal estates in the vernacular Chronicle, it is such associated texts which show the significance of the royal centres because they have to explain the status of such sites from an 'alien' context. Such a twelfth-century Anglo-Latin writer as John of Worcester, writing of a pre-Conquest landscape from a post-Conquest perspective, or such a ninth-century Welsh panegyrist as Asser were evidently aware of the need to explain the status of royal sites.<sup>56</sup> Bede's references to *villae regiae* are also pertinent here. Although he was writing about his native Northumbria, his references to *villae regiae* related to the formative early Christian kingship of the previous century. Thus, they arguably helped him to consider early seventh-century kings via reference points which tied them to the kingship of the eighth century experienced by Bede. I would suggest that such references cast a

<sup>51</sup> *John of Worcester, s.a.* 924, II, 384. ASC 924 Mercian Register, Whitelock, *ASC*, p. 68; it should be noted here that while MSS BCD, incorporating the Mercian Register, record Farndon, MS A only records the king's death.

<sup>52</sup> *DB: Cheshire*, B3, 14:1.

<sup>53</sup> Stephen Baxter, 'The Earls of Mercia and their Commended Men in the Mid-Eleventh Century', *ANS*, 23 (2001), 23–46. Baxter's book, *The Earls of Mercia: Power, Patronage and Politics in the Early English Kingdom* (Oxford, 2007), explores these themes in greater depth.

<sup>54</sup> For the significance of Farndon, see David Griffiths, 'The North-West Frontier', in Higham and Hill, pp. 167–87 (pp. 182–84).

<sup>55</sup> *John of Worcester, s.a.* 914, II, 366. *DB: Oxfordshire*, 28:6.

<sup>56</sup> For Asser's Welsh audience, see Keynes and Lapidge, pp. 41–44 and 51–53.

light on the relative contemporaneity of Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entries, as presumably both the authors and the immediate readership would have known the status of the sites mentioned.

*Warfare in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Reflection of Royal Territory?*

One way to address the question of the importance of sites and thus the question of which sites may have been parts or centres of royal estates is to consider the locations of events. Royal authority could be both contested and manifested in warfare, and royal estates were often the sites of such contestation. It may be relevant to think of royal estates as the successors of the early *regiones* that owed personal service to a political centre and the man in control of it. The personal obligations of early medieval society were institutionalized in the landscape.<sup>57</sup> Control of nodal points meant the control of those people who owed obligations to that central place. Although this was not necessarily always explicitly stated in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, as we shall see, this was implicit to early medieval rulership.

From the locations of battles and events associated with warfare in Wessex and its surrounding shires it is possible to discern a high level of correspondence with the locations of royal estates recorded in Domesday Book. Those estates recorded as providing or close to centres providing the 'farm of one night' form a large proportion of the royal estates associated with warfare: some thirty-seven (or thirty-two if Silverton is discounted<sup>58</sup>) of Wessex's sixty-one acts of violence recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle took place within ten miles of an estate centre associated with the render of the 'farm of one night', and of these twelve took place within two miles of that centre. Of the rest of the estates, the vast majority were associated with royal ownership or earls' rights. These are detailed in Table 6 (included at the end of this essay) along with the types of encounters and the participants in the actions. Such estates as those rendering the 'farm of one night' were important because they demonstrated kings' abilities to be conspicuous in their consumption. Pauline Stafford has shown that royal estates were being reorganized

<sup>57</sup> See Bassett, 'In Search of the Origins', and Thomas Charles-Edwards, 'Early Medieval Kingdoms in the British Isles', in *Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. by Bassett, pp. 28–39.

<sup>58</sup> Neatham (Hants) and Silverton (Devon), recorded in Table 6 below, are respectively identified by Stafford as probable and possible candidates for estates rendering a 'farm of one night', though Domesday Book does not explicitly record this render. Stafford, "Farm of One Night", p. 493.

as late as the eleventh century in order to provide *feorm* in kind, and work by Alban Gautier has shown the wider significance of the meaning of feasting in Anglo-Saxon England and, as part of that, the idea of *feorm*.<sup>59</sup> We might usefully compare here the detailed expectations of render recorded in the lawcode of King Ine (through an Alfredian transmission).<sup>60</sup> Granted, the term used is *fostre* rather than *feorm*, a term which makes specific reference to food rather than entertainment but still conveyed a meaning of care.<sup>61</sup> Nonetheless, both terms can be used to convey the kind of detailed renders expected by Solomon in the Book of Kings, a matter of some significance in the aspirations of Anglo-Saxon kingship.<sup>62</sup>

Pertinent to the 'victors' and 'losers' of Table 6, the Chronicle's record of the Viking wars of Alfred and Æthelred is particularly striking as it reflects uses of royal estates both to assert and to attack royal authority. In the case of Alfred's setback at Chippenham in 878 (a place which was recorded in Domesday Book as a 'farm of one night' estate and which Asser calls a 'villam regiam' (royal residence)),<sup>63</sup> the Vikings' rapid and unexpected attack may have been in order to catch Alfred while he was at Chippenham. Whether the Vikings' actions can be interpreted from a military point of view as a 'decapitation strategy' or, as David Sturdy has suggested, because Alfred may have presented a target for a potential pagan sacrifice on a feast day,<sup>64</sup> neither the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Æthelweard, nor Asser states that Alfred was at Chippenham in 878. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is alone in dating

<sup>59</sup> Stafford, "Farm of One Night"; Alban Gautier, *Le Festin dans l'Angleterre anglo-saxonne, 1<sup>re</sup>–XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Rennes, 2006). See also Hugh Magennis, *Anglo-Saxon Appetites: Food and Drink and their Consumption in Old English and Related Literature* (Dublin, 1999), pp. 17–50.

<sup>60</sup> Ine §70.1: *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, ed. and trans. by F. L. Attenborough (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 58–59. From ten hides (on an unspecified basis of time) to the king?: 10 vats of honey, 300 loaves, 12 'ambers' of Welsh ale, 30 'ambers' of clear ale, 2 full-grown cows or 10 wethers, 10 geese, 20 hens, 10 cheeses, an 'amber' full of butter, 5 salmon, 20 ?pounds of fodder, 100 eels. This is addressed in Ryan Lavelle, 'Ine 70.1 and Royal Provision in Anglo-Saxon Wessex', in *Royal Authority in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Gale R. Owen-Crocker (Oxford, forthcoming).

<sup>61</sup> For the respective meanings of 'farm' and 'foster' in this respect, see Bosworth Toller, pp. 280 and 327. For a reference to thirty hides of 'fosterland' at Sydling (Dorset), see S 391.

<sup>62</sup> To Solomon each day, from his whole dominion, 'thirty measures of fine flour, and sixty measures of meal, ten fat oxen, and twenty oxen from the pastures, and a hundred sheep, beside harts, and roebucks, and fallow deer and fatted fowl' (1 Kings 4. 22–23). See Lavelle, 'Farm of One Night', pp. 57–58. For the significance of the Book of Kings, see Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1: *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), p. 122.

<sup>63</sup> DB: *Wiltshire*, 1:5. Asser, Chapter 52, p. 40; Keynes and Lapidge, p. 83.

<sup>64</sup> David Sturdy, *Alfred the Great* (London, 1995), pp. 146–47.

the Vikings' assault on Wessex to the time after Twelfth Night; this dating suggests — even if it does not explicitly state — that the King had been there.<sup>65</sup> In line with Simon Keynes's suggestions that the Alfredian annals of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle understated the perils faced by the kingdom around 878,<sup>66</sup> the Chronicle may have attempted to gloss over the possibility that Alfred was at Chippenham in midwinter, 877–78. Alice Sheppard has also recently drawn attention to the Chronicle's reticence in elaborating upon the importance of place-names in the Alfredian entries, suggesting that in recording the Vikings' movements, the chronicler 'refuses to draw for his readers the kind of verbal map that would point out Alfred's vulnerability'.<sup>67</sup> Nonetheless, such points should not draw us away from what the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle *does* indicate. Political control went with estate centres and Viking seizure meant control.<sup>68</sup>

Therefore, that part of the kingdom was taken by the Viking army and control was ceded. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle emphasizes this, as R. H. C. Davis suggests, through its use of the verb *geridan* when referring to the Vikings' seizure of Chippenham,<sup>69</sup> a term to which I shall return shortly as its later use draws attention to Alfred's kingship. Alfred's stronghold at Athelney (Somerset), as a result, became the converse example. However much the Guthlac-like existence of Alfred may have been reflected in descriptions of the 'fen fastnesses' of the landscape, however desperate his position, Alfred was shown as being able to control people within his territory: 'Sumursætna se dæl, se þær niehst wæs'.<sup>70</sup>

Although it is possible that Athelney was so named as a result of the actions of 878,<sup>71</sup> the genitive plural form incorporated in the place-name, *Æpelingaeigge*, sug-

<sup>65</sup> ASC 878, Whitelock, *ASC*, p. 49; *Æthelweard, s.a.* 878, p. 42; *Asser*, Chapter 52, p. 40; Keynes and Lapidge, p. 83.

<sup>66</sup> See Simon Keynes, 'A Tale of Two Kings: Alfred the Great and Æthelred the Unready', *TRHS*, 5th series, 36 (1986), 195–217.

<sup>67</sup> Sheppard, *FK*, pp. 38–39.

<sup>68</sup> Sawyer, 'Royal *Tun*'; Guy Halsall, *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West, 450–900* (London, 2003), pp. 137–40.

<sup>69</sup> R. H. C. Davis, 'Alfred the Great: Propaganda and Truth', *History*, 56 (1971), 169–82 (p. 171). See Bosworth Toller, p. 431.

<sup>70</sup> ASC 878, Whitelock, *ASC*, p. 49. '[T]he section of the people of Somerset which was nearest to it [i.e. Athelney]'.  
<sup>71</sup> For such a suggestion with regard to the Enham lawcode of 1008, see M. K. Lawson, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Homiletic Element in the Laws of Æthelred II and Cnut', *EHR*, 107 (1992), 565–86 (p. 576).

gests an established association with æthelings.<sup>72</sup> The name itself goes some way to suggesting that the ‘stronghold’ (*geweorc*) was at an already established royal centre: recent excavations at Athelney have shown the Iron Age antiquity of the site, an illuminating if unsurprising finding given the comparatively limited number of sites available in the Somerset Levels.<sup>73</sup> While it may be an overstatement to suggest that this was the centre of an archaic land unit dating back to a prehistoric age,<sup>74</sup> given Athelney’s proximity (some three miles) to what was later recorded as part of a ‘farm of one night’ estate at Curry Rivel, it is at least realistic to consider that the royal estates here would have proved useful and, arguably, symbolic for Alfred’s West Saxon kingship.<sup>75</sup> Athelney Abbey was founded after Alfred’s 878 victory, and the estates at South and North Petherton were brought together to make the provision of the ‘farm of one night’, so it is reasonable to suggest that Athelney was a royal estate in itself before 878, which was not included in the royal demesne by the time of Domesday Book.<sup>76</sup> The Chronicle for Alfred’s desperate years during the era of the ‘Great Army’ has been accused both of exaggerating the dire straits in which Alfred found himself<sup>77</sup> and of giving him a positive spin,<sup>78</sup> but in recording Alfred’s refuge at Athelney, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle shows us that some norms of West Saxon political organization remained in operation, albeit in an abbreviated area. It may have been no coincidence that for once the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle evokes the Frankish annals’ geographical habits in precisely stating the King’s whereabouts at Easter 878. As a major festival this was, after all, a key moment for Alfred to demonstrate his kingship, or at least to be recorded as having

<sup>72</sup> David N. Dumville, ‘The Ætheling: A Study in Anglo-Saxon Constitutional History’, *ASE*, 8 (1979), 1–33 (pp. 5–6).

<sup>73</sup> Preliminary reports of the excavations at Athelney can be found in Somerset County Council, *Somerset Heritage: Annual Report, 2002*, <<http://www1.somerset.gov.uk/archives/hes/downloads/AnnualReport02.pdf>>, pp. 3–4.

<sup>74</sup> For observations on the survival of landscape units (though not on Athelney), see Desmond J. Bonney, ‘Early Boundaries and Estates in Southern England’, in *Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change*, ed. by Peter Sawyer (London, 1976), pp. 72–82; Michael Wood, *Domesday: A Search for the Roots of England* (London, 1986), pp. 76–79; Lavelle, ‘Why Grateley?’.

<sup>75</sup> *DB: Somerset*, 1:5.

<sup>76</sup> *Asser*, Chapter 92, pp. 79–80; Keynes and Lapidge, pp. 102–03. For North and South Petherton, see *DB: Somerset*, references 1:3–4.

<sup>77</sup> Davis, ‘Alfred the Great’.

<sup>78</sup> Keynes, ‘Tale of Two Kings’.

demonstrated it, even if it was to take seven more weeks for the kingdom itself to be regained.

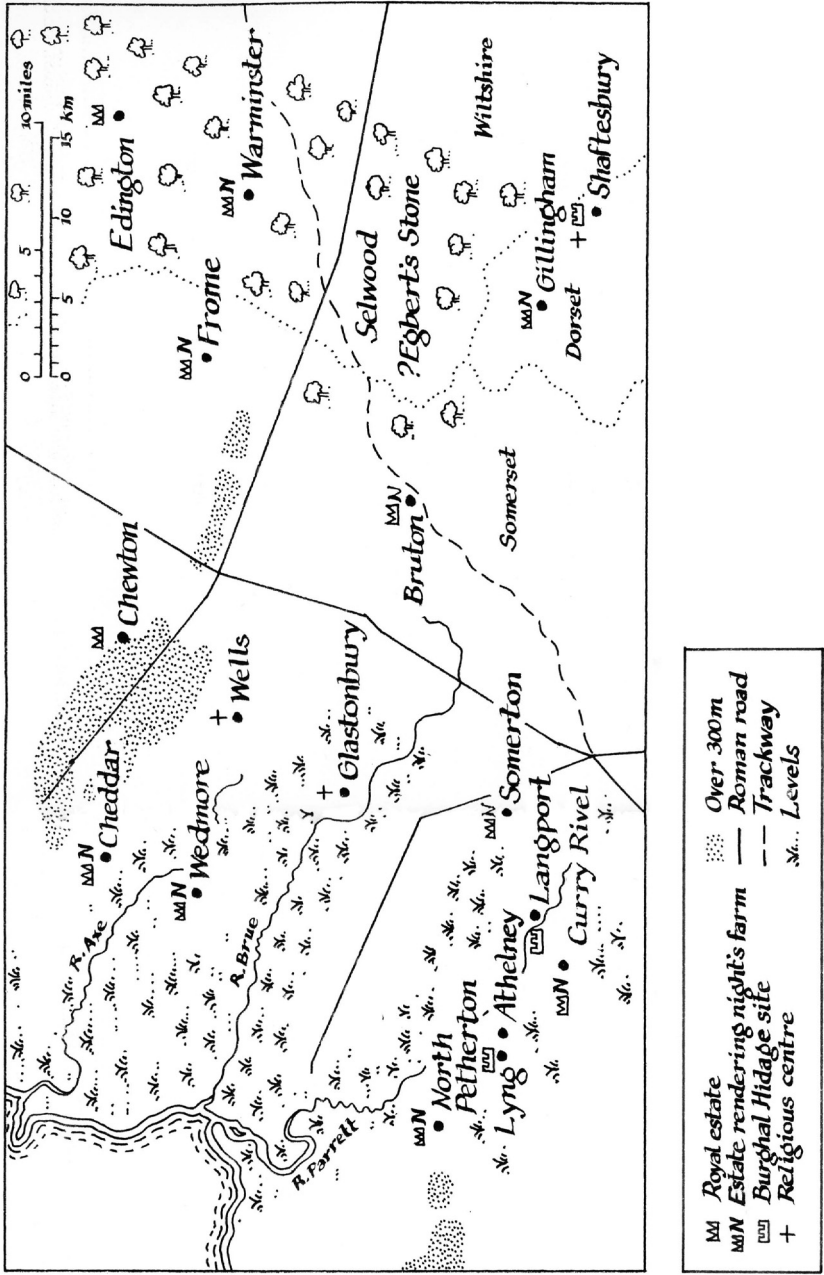
However, the other events of 878 also need consideration for what they can say about royal estates and, ultimately, about royal power. It was when Alfred came to 'Egbert's Stone' (*Eggbryhtes stane*) that he was able to call on the rest of the kingdom at, as Davis points out, a known time in the year.<sup>79</sup> If we accept the site's conventionally ascribed location near Penselwood (Somerset), some twenty-five miles from Athelney,<sup>80</sup> a journey may not have needed an overnight stop, despite, one assumes, passing the conveniently sited royal estate of Somerton on the way (see Map 1).<sup>81</sup> Assuming a progress on horseback at three miles per hour, the journey would take just over eight hours. As a king in a difficult political situation, Alfred may have needed to get quickly to a point where he could summon his people by means which were understood across the kingdom. This was evidently a priority, as a halt at Egbert's Stone meant that Alfred's route to Edington (Wiltshire, where the decisive battle against the Vikings was fought) was less direct than it might otherwise have been.

Although the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says nothing about the journey itself, the fact that it records Alfred's overnight sojourn at Egbert's Stone is revealing. Granted, resting a force of warriors was a logical military action. While, ideally, surprise would have been a useful weapon, as Kelly DeVries's strategic dissection

<sup>79</sup> Davis, 'Alfred the Great', p. 170. The seventh week after Easter was part of the fortnight after Rogationtide, a time at which Athelstan later exhorted his subjects to repair burghal defences, which suggests that this was a time of military gathering. *II Athelstan* § 13: *Laws*, ed. by Attenborough, pp. 134–35.

<sup>80</sup> An attempt has been made by L. S. Dutton to place Egbert's Stone at Shaftesbury on the basis of the subsequent foundation of the abbey there as this parallels the foundation of Athelney: 'King Alfred at Shaftesbury: The Location of Egbert's Stone', *Proceedings of Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 109 (1987), 141–42. Compare Simon Keynes, 'King Alfred the Great and Shaftesbury Abbey', in *The Early History of Shaftesbury Abbey*, ed. by Laurence Keen (Dorchester, 1999), pp. 17–72 (pp. 60–61), who dismisses this as too far south-east. The view from Alfred's tower at Stourton manor (Ordnance Survey NGR ST745351), in an area overlooking the surrounding landscape, indeed with views as far as the Somerset Levels, is convincing enough to suggest that Egbert's Stone was somewhere near this place where the three shires met. For a summary of nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century antiquaries' discussions of the location of Egbert's Stone, see John Peddie, *Alfred: The Good Soldier* (Bath, 1989), pp. 128–33.

<sup>81</sup> Somerton is recorded in the ASC as having been captured by Æthelbald of Mercia in 733 (Whitelock, *ASC*, p. 28), so had presumably been of some importance. It is recorded in Domesday Book as the first of the Somerset royal estates: *DB: Somerset*, 1:1.



of King Harold II's campaign in Northumbria has suggested,<sup>82</sup> in this instance it was presumably important for Alfred to gather his forces and to rest them. But to interpret the Chronicle's record of Alfred's overnight stays at Egbert's Stone and, subsequently, at Iley Oak near Warminster (Wiltshire) simply on the basis of their strategic utility would be unnecessarily functionalist. This appearance of a royal itinerary in such a key source should not be ignored. Again, however briefly, the Chronicle meets the expectations of Frankish annals in providing a record of a royal itinerary for that most quasi-Carolingian of Anglo-Saxon kings.<sup>83</sup>

Each of these sites was close to one of the night's farm manors recorded in Domesday Book, showing the significance of the organization of West Saxon royal estates.<sup>84</sup> Such estates were crucial in the maintenance of the office of kingship: they represented the very support of the king.<sup>85</sup> Staying one night in each place meant that the king used the estate's resources and entertained his followers within his army. Although from a modern perspective, it may be difficult to conceive of a night before a battle as a suitable time to consume large quantities of food and drink, such scepticism would not take into account the deeply held importance of feasting (or, at least, drinking) as a means of strengthening social bonds.<sup>86</sup> Such actions may perhaps show that there was an underlying truth to William of Malmesbury's record of Anglo-Saxons carousing on the night before the Battle of Hastings,<sup>87</sup> but

<sup>82</sup> Kelly DeVries, *The Norwegian Invasion of England in 1066*, *Warfare in History*, 8 (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 262–96.

<sup>83</sup> For comparisons of the ASC to Frankish annals, see Anton Scharer, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Continental Annal-Writing', this volume, who discusses the non-contemporary nature of the Frankish annals.

<sup>84</sup> For Gillingham, close to Penselwood (and presumably Egbert's Stone), see *DB: Dorset*, 1:4. For Warminster, the hundred of which was close to Iley Oak, see *DB: Wiltshire*, 1:4; Elizabeth Critall, *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, vol. VIII: *Warminster, Westbury and Whorwellsdown Hundreds*, Victoria County History (London, 1965), pp. 1–5. For the significance of the relationship between hundredal organization and the organization of the 'farm of one night', see Lavelle, 'Farm of One Night', pp. 77–82.

<sup>85</sup> Lavelle, 'Farm of One Night'.

<sup>86</sup> Magennis, *Anglo-Saxon Appetites*, pp. 22–36, concentrates on the literary significance of drinking.

<sup>87</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. by R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998), ch. 241, pp. 452–55. Halsall, *Warfare and Society*, pp. 192–204, provides an excellent overview of the experience of early medieval battlefield, including comparative suggestions (from ancient and early modern warfare) on the consumption of alcohol.

for 878 Alfred was evidently portrayed as laying claim to his right to rule: in effect, reclaiming his kingdom even before the battle. Davis's observation that the term *geridan* was used by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to indicate both the Vikings' movements and Alfred's movements is useful if one seeks to understand the significance of these Alfredian entries. While R. H. C. Davis and, later, Dorothy Whitelock used the term to address the extent to which the Vikings controlled West Saxon territory, with Whitelock countering Davis's minimal interpretation of Viking control,<sup>88</sup> the references deserve attention in relation to Alfred. It is equally likely that the Chronicle's use of the term in reference to Alfred's movements may have been a deliberate echo — in effect, a reversal — of the Vikings' seizure of territory, thus highlighting Alfred's claim to the kingdom. The term does not exclude the idea of the seizure of land, as is suggested by the C Chronicle's eleventh-century use of the term to describe King Edward's seizure of his mother's land as well as the records of a number of late tenth- and early eleventh-century references to the Vikings' successful forays in English territory.<sup>89</sup> The record of Edmund Ironside's seizure of Wessex in 1016 after his father's death, when 'all the people submitted to him [i.e. Edward]' ('him beah eall folc to'), juxtaposed with a battle at Penselwood — explicitly recorded by the C Chronicle as 'near Gillingham' ('wið Gillingaham') — emerges as a similarly explicit statement of West Saxon kingship at a significant place in the landscape.<sup>90</sup>

Ultimately, the 878 entry is deeply imbued with the Anglo-Saxon idea of kingship, presumably reflecting an Alfredian purpose for the Chronicle. Even if the Vikings' seizure of the kingdom after Twelfth Night, after Epiphany, was coincidental, the author of the Chronicle — indeed Alfred himself and those around him — must have understood the significance of Alfred's great victory at Edington taking place, as the Chronicle records, during the seventh week after Easter. As a contemporary audience could be expected to know, this week falls in the ten days

<sup>88</sup> Davis, 'Alfred the Great', pp. 171–72. Dorothy Whitelock, 'The Importance of the Battle of Edington', in Dorothy Whitelock, *From Bede to Alfred: Studies in Early Anglo-Saxon Literature and History* (London, 1980), no. XIII, pp. 9–10.

<sup>89</sup> ASC 1043CE, Whitelock, *ASC*, p. 107: '7 raðe þæs se cing let geridan ealle þa land þe his modor ahte him to handa' ('and soon after this the King brought all the lands his mother owned forcibly into his own control'). The term is used in a context to describe the devastation and — arguably — control of areas by Vikings: ASC 871, 994CDE, 999CDE, 1001CDE, 1010CDE, Whitelock, *ASC*, pp. 46, 83, 84, 85, and 90. For more detailed arguments, see Jacqueline Stodnick, 'Sentence to Story: Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as Formulary', this volume.

<sup>90</sup> ASC 1016CDE, Whitelock, *ASC*, p. 95.

of Ascensiontide, between Ascension Day and Pentecost, the seventh Sunday after Easter. While not even Alfred could have been so presumptuous as to consider himself a latter day messiah, the biblical associations of Ascension Day, being connected with the restoration to the people of Israel of their kingdom, were nonetheless significant. The return of Christ to his kingdom was a concept which very much lay at the heart of Alfred's teleological view of kingship.<sup>91</sup>

For explicit reference to *feorm*, though with less of a West Saxon focus, we must turn to the reign of Æthelred II: in the eyes of the C-chronicler (and indeed a number of historians since) he appears as the opposite of Alfred the Great, namely weak-willed, badly advised, and distinctly unkingly.<sup>92</sup> Although there are points where a more contemporary version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle than that of the C-manuscript could have portrayed Æthelred as a kingly figure, under the circumstances in which he wrote in 1016 or shortly afterwards, perhaps understandably, the chronicler seems to exhibit no desire to do so.<sup>93</sup> In 1006, the King received his *feorm* in Shropshire, an event which perhaps relates to Domesday Book's record of the Shropshire lands which are explicitly recorded as owing a night's farm in the time of King Æthelred, lands which were in the Welsh borders.<sup>94</sup> But Æthelred was the unfortunate victim of inversions of the idea of *feorm*: in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entries for his reign, it is not the King who receives it but his Viking opponents. In 998, the Chronicle records a group of Vikings on the Isle of Wight enjoying the *feorm* from Sussex and Hampshire, a render which, by rights, the King should presumably have enjoyed.<sup>95</sup> In 1006, the Vikings are said to have received

<sup>91</sup> Acts 1. 1–11; Psalms 47 and 93; Ephesians 1. 15–23; Luke 24. 44–53. For the idea of the elevation of humanity to Heaven at Rogationtide, see M. Bradford Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 191–209.

<sup>92</sup> See Simon Keynes, 'The Declining Reputation of King Æthelred the Unready', in *Æthelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference*, ed. by David Hill, BAR British Series, 59 (Oxford, 1978), pp. 227–53.

<sup>93</sup> Moving briefly beyond the immediate issue of royal estates, one might also have thought that the occasion of the land and sea assault on the kingdoms of Strathclyde and Man, recorded in ASC 1000CDE (Whitelock, *ASC*, p. 85), would also have given ample opportunity for Æthelredian propaganda, had the chronicler been so inclined. See Bede, *HE*, II, 5 and II, 9, pp. 162 and 148–50, for the use of the Isle of Man (along with Anglesey) as an indication of King Edwin's *imperium* in the early sixth century.

<sup>94</sup> In Shropshire, the three holdings at Chirbury, Maesbury, and Whittington were recorded as having provided half a night's farm 'at the time of Æthelred, father of King Edward': *DB: Shropshire*, 4(1):10–12.

<sup>95</sup> ASC 998CDE, Whitelock, *ASC*, p. 84.

*feorm* from across Wessex and the Isle of Wight — the term *feorm* is used again for the second time only in the Chronicle. The Vikings are recorded as establishing a *frīðstol*, again on the Isle of Wight. The term *frīðstol* (literally a ‘peace-throne’) refers to a sanctuary, but the *stol* element, referring to a throne, also implies territorial control.<sup>96</sup> With characteristic irony, the King is recorded in the Chronicle as being ‘over the Thames’ (‘ofer Temese’) in Shropshire. Given the chronicler’s otherwise reasonable knowledge of geography, the line is a masterpiece of Old English understatement: Shropshire is somewhat further outside Wessex than ‘over the Thames’! The geographical emphasis here highlights a West Saxon focus for Anglo-Saxon kingship and a traditional Wessex/Mercian division.<sup>97</sup> The record of this episode reflected a preoccupation with a territorial base for kingship. Without control of the West Saxons’ equivalent of the Ottonian *Königslandschaften*, Æthelred could not be seen as a full ruler. In 1006, Æthelred did not receive his *feorm* from his royal lands; he could not stand before the cheering crowds from the west front of his Old Minster on Christmas Day. Instead, the Vikings enjoyed the benefits of West Saxon kingship, and Æthelred had to enjoy his Christmas in the Welsh borders.

A search for similar references provides the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle’s only explicit mention of anyone beside Alfred staying ‘overnight’: in 1004, at Thetford (Norfolk), Vikings ‘þær binnon .i. niht wæron’; in 1006, at Cholsey (now in Oxfordshire), ‘wæron him ða ane niht’.<sup>98</sup> In both of these cases, the offenders are Vikings. The contrast with Alfred is remarkable. One might even wonder if Æthelred’s notoriously unsympathetic chronicler used these episodes as a means of consciously echoing the more successful use of *feorm* during the reign of Alfred. Domesday Book records Thetford as a borough with royal interests<sup>99</sup> and Cholsey as a pre-Conquest royal property,<sup>100</sup> a matter which suggests that even if not all Viking activities were politically motivated, their political impact was recognized.

<sup>96</sup> Bosworth Toller, p. 339 (*frīð-stol*); p. 924 (*stol*).

<sup>97</sup> See references to the Thames in ASC 1010CDE, 1011CDE, 1013CDE, and 1016CDE, Whitelock, *ASC*, pp. 90, 91, 92, 94. Hill, *Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 85, makes a reference to the Chronicle’s irony in its 1006 entry. For a general discussion of the events of 1006, see Ryan Lavelle, *Aethelred II: King of the English*, rev. edn (Stroud, 2008), pp. 119 and 150–51.

<sup>98</sup> ASC 1004CDE, Whitelock, *ASC*, p. 87; ‘remained inside there one night’. ASC 1006CD, Whitelock, *ASC*, p. 88; ‘they were there one night’.

<sup>99</sup> *DB: Norfolk*, 1:69–70. Although Thetford was a borough rather than a manor, the record of royal ‘customary dues’ (*consuetudines*) is significant here.

<sup>100</sup> *DB: Berkshire*, 1:7.

Perhaps, as with the 'Great Army's' longer-term sojourn at the Mercian royal centre at Repton (Derbyshire) in the ninth century, this was more than logistical sense. It was indicative of a lack of royal control by the king, who should have enjoyed the benefits of the place.<sup>101</sup>

## Conclusions

Although this paper has asked more questions than it can provide answers for the study of West Saxon and later Anglo-Saxon kingship, a great deal may be gained from studying the expression of royal legitimacy through records of particular sites, especially those in Wessex, even into the eleventh century.

Assemblies, *feorm*, battles for territorial control, and royal residence all emerge as significant factors in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Although rarely spelt out but, as I have shown, often alluded to through geography and references to movement in the landscape, the royal *tun* forms an integral element of these. The Chronicle is not specific enough to allow the calculation of precise movements and visits of royal parties and it is rarely forthcoming on the precise status of royal estates. Nonetheless, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle reflects the importance of the rights and responsibilities associated with the landed interests of the royal family, including showing the circumstances where those rights and responsibilities could not be enjoyed or met. When compared with the explicit descriptions of the royal status of places in sources which are at least one stage removed from the events they record, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the case studies of the reigns of Alfred and Æthelred II reflects an implicit understanding of the status of sites. This understanding was on the part of a readership with some experience, even first-hand experience, of the events recorded in the relevant entries. This experience reinforced a reading of triumphal kingship for Alfred's reign or despair for those who had experienced the last years of the reign of Æthelred II. Given that warfare was conducted according to codes of expectations of actions and counteractions, the control of territory and use (and abuse) of sites recorded in the Chronicle was about more than the names of places on a verbal map. The Chronicle referred to

<sup>101</sup> ASC 874, Whitelock, *ASC*, p. 48. Brooks, 'England in the Ninth Century', p. 9. See Martin Biddle and Birtha Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Repton and the "Great Heathen Army", 873–4', in *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Thirteenth Viking Congress, Nottingham and York, 21–30 August 1997*, ed. by James Graham-Campbell and others (Oxford, 2001), pp. 45–96. Before the Norman Conquest, Repton was land of the Mercian Earl Ælfgar, with extensive jurisdiction (*soca*), suggesting the retention of royal rights: *DB: Derbyshire*, 1:20–24; 1:26.

places because they mattered to contemporaries and signified the performance of royal power. Landed interests play a prominent part in the records of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and it is this which allows it to be a useful tool in the examination of the geographies of West Saxon and Anglo-Saxon royal power.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> I am grateful to Alice Jorgensen, Janine Lavelle, and Barbara Yorke, as well as this paper's anonymous readers, for their comments, and to Patrick McGurk and Christine Rauer for some very useful discussion and correspondence. I also wish to record my thanks to my father, Don Lavelle, for drawing the map which accompanies this paper.

**Table 6. The locations of Viking Age warfare in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle corresponding references to pre-Conquest holders of the estates recorded in**

Battle site	Shire	Year of event	ASC version	Description (if appropriate)	Victors
Portland (not named in ASC)	Dors.	c. 789	all	'to þæs cyninges tun' (?of Dorchester) (ASC A); 'ad regiam uillam' (?of Dorchester); Portland unnamed but reeve hurried 'ad portum' ( <i>Æthelweard</i> , p. 27)	Vikings
<i>Gridantreow</i> (Galford)	Dev.	825	all		Devon men
<i>Ellendune</i> (Wroughton)	Wilts.	825	all		West Saxons
Carhampton	Som.	836	all		Vikings
Hingston Down	Cornwall	838	all		West Saxons
Southampton	Hants	840	all	'iuxta oppidum Hamtune' ( <i>Æthelweard</i> , p. 30)	Men of Hants
Portland	Dors.	840	all	'in regione que dicitur Port' ( <i>John of Worcester</i> , II, 254)	Vikings
Carhampton	Som.	843	all		Vikings
Parrett Mouth	Som.	845	all		Men of Somerset and Devon
<i>Wicganbeorg</i>	Dev.	851	all		Men of Devon
<i>Aclea</i>	Surrey	851	all	'iuxta syluam quæ Aclea nuncupator' ( <i>Æthelweard</i> , p. 32)	West Saxons
Winchester	Hants	860	all	'regiam urbem que Vuintonia nominator' ( <i>Æthelweard</i> , p. 35)	Men of Hants and Berks.
Reading	Berks.	871	BCDE	'ad uillam regiam, quæ dicitur Rædigam' ( <i>Asser</i> , Chapter 35)	Vikings
Englefield	Berks.	871	all		Men of Berks.?
Ashdown	Berks.	871	all		West Saxons
Basing	Hants	871	all		Vikings

**and associated sources in central and southern England, c. 789–1066, with Domesday book.**

Losers	Type of 'encounter'	Domesday holder TRE (Phillimore Domesday reference)	Nearest 'farm of one night' estate centre (if 10 miles or less), with Phillimore reference	Distance (miles)
West Saxons	raid	King (Dors. 1:1)	Dorchester (Dors. 1:4)	6
Britons	battle	Beorhtic as holder of Lewtrenchard (Dev. 16:9)		
Mercians	battle	Bishop of Winchester (Wilts. 2:7)	Calne (Wilts. 1:1)	10
West Saxons	battle	King, receiving night's farm (Som. 1:6)	Carhampton (Som. 1:6)	0
Vikings/ Cornish	battle	Callington held by Earl Harold (Corn. 1:10)		
Vikings	raid?	Rights in borough held by king (1086 holder Hants S1)	Eling (Hants 1:27)	2
Men of Dorset	raid?	King (Dors. 1:1)	Dorchester (Dors. 1:4)	6
West Saxons	battle	King, receiving night's farm (Som. 1:6)	Carhampton (Som. 1:6)	0
Vikings	raid?	Cannington held by king, receiving night's farm (Som. 1:6)	Cannington (Som. 1:6)	
Vikings	battle	unknown	?	
Vikings	battle	unknown	?	
Vikings	raid?	Rights in borough held by king <sup>1</sup>	Kingsworthy (Hants 1:17)	2
	seizure	King (Berks. 1:41)		
Vikings	battle	Alwine (Berks. 22:1), Wulfmær (Berks. 22:4); both in Reading hundred		
Vikings	battle	Lambourn held by king (Berks. 1:29)		
West Saxons	battle	Altei (Hants 23:6); Basingstoke held by king, receiving night's farm	Basingstoke (Hants 1:42)	2

Battle site	Shire	Year of event	ASC version	Description (if appropriate)	Victors
<i>Meretun</i>	?	871	all		Vikings
Wilton	Wilts.	871	all	'in monte qui dicitur Wiltun' ( <i>Asser</i> , Chapter 42)	Vikings
Wareham	Dors.	876	all	'iuxta oppidum quod Vuerham nuncupatur' ( <i>Æthelweard</i> , p. 41); 'castellum, quod dicitur Werham' ( <i>Asser</i> , Chapter 49)	Vikings
Exeter	Dev.	876/77	all	'on þam fæstene' (ASC A 877); 'in urbe Exancestre' ( <i>Æthelweard</i> , p. 42)	Vikings
Chippenham	Wilts.	878	all	'oþ þæt geweorc' (poss. reference to Chippenham, ASC A); 'Cippanham, villam regiam' ( <i>Asser</i> , Chapter 52)	Vikings
Countisbury (not named in ASC)	Dev.	878	battle only mentioned	'arcem Cynuit' ( <i>Asser</i> , Chapter 54)	
Edington	Wilts.	878	all		West Saxons
Farnham	Surrey	893	all		Vikings
Exeter	Dev.	893	all		Vikings
Twinham	Hants	899/ 900	all	'regiam uillam Tuueoxebeam' ( <i>John of Worcester</i> , II, 354)	Æthelwold's men
Wimborne Minster	Dors.	899/ 900	all	'þone ham' (ASC A; probably also refers to Twinham)	Æthelwold's men
Badbury Rings	Dors.	899/900	all		West Saxons
Cricklade	Wilts.	902	ABCD		Vikings
Watchet (shore to the east)	Som.	914	ABCD		Vikings
Porlock	Som.	914	ABCD		Vikings
Southampton	Hants	980	CDE		Vikings
Padstow	Cornwall	981	C	'Sancte Petroces stow' (ASC C); 'Sancti Petroci confessoris monasterium' ( <i>John of Worcester</i> , II, 432)	Vikings
Portland	Dors.	982	C		Vikings
Watchet	Som.	988	CDE		Vikings

Losers	Type of 'encounter'	Domesday holder TRE (Phillimore Domesday reference)	Nearest 'farm of one night' estate centre (if 10 miles or less), with Phillimore reference	Distance (miles)
West Saxons	battle	Martin held by Glastonbury (Wilts. 7:1) and Cranbourne (11:2)	?	
West Saxons	battle	Borough held by ?king (Wilts. B1)	Amesbury (Wilts. 1:3)	8
	raid	Borough held by king (Dors. B3)	Bere Regis (Dors. 1:2)	7
West Saxons	seizure	City held by king (Dev. C1)		6
West Saxons	seizure	King, receiving night's farm (Wilts. 1:5)	Chippenham (Wilts. 1:5)	0
	battle	Æthelmær (Dev. 19:15)		
Vikings	battle	Romsey (Wilts. 15:1); Osweard (Wilts. 68:1)	Warminster (Wilts. 1:4)	6
West Saxons	battle	Bishop of Winchester (Surrey 3:1)	Neatham (Hants 1:2)	8
West Saxons	siege	City held by king (Dev. C1)	Silverton (Dev. 1:7)	7
	seizure	King (Hants 1:28)		
	seizure	King, receiving night's farm (Dors. 1:3)	Wimborne (Dors. 1:3)	0
Aethelwold's men	encampment	King, receiving night's farm (Dors. 1:3)	Wimborne (Dors. 1:3)	4
	ravaging	King, receiving third penny (Wilts. B4)		
	raid	Ælweald (Som. 25:36)	Williton (Som. 1:6)	2
	raid	Algar (Som. 20:3)	Carhampton (Som. 1:6)	8
	ravaging	Rights in borough held by king (TRW holder Hants S1)	Eling (Hants 1:27)	2
	raid	St Petroc's Church (Corn. 4:4)		
	ravaging	King (Dors. 1:1)	Dorchester (Dors. 1:4)	6
	ravaging/ battle	Ælweald (Som. 25:36)	Williton (Som. 1:6)	2

Battle site	Shire	Year of event	ASC version	Description (if appropriate)	Victors
Watchet	Som.	997	CDE		
Lydford	Dev.	997	CDE		
Tavistock	Dev.	997	CDE	'Ordulfes mynster Tæfingstoc' (ASC C); 'monasterium quod Teauistoce nominatur' ( <i>John of Worcester</i> , II, 446)	
Æthelingadene	Sussex	1001	A		Vikings
Kingsteignton	Dev.	1001	A	described with 'fela oðra godra hama þe we genemnan ne cunnan' ('many other good residences which we cannot name') (ASC A)	Vikings
Exeter	Dev.	1001	CDE	'ðære byrig' (ASC C)	
Pinhoe	Dev.	1001	ACDE		Vikings
(Broad) Clyst	Dev.	1001	A	described with Pinhoe and 'fela godra hama þe we genemnan na cunnan' ('many other good residences which we cannot name') (ASC A)	Vikings
Bishop's Waltham	Hants	1001	A	'ðone ham', with 'oðra cotlifa fela' ('many other villages') (ASC A)	Vikings
Exeter	Dev.	1003	CDE	'þa buruh' (ASC C); 'ciuitatem Exe-ceastram' ( <i>John of Worcester</i> , II, 454)	Vikings
Wilton	Wilts.	1003	CDE	'þa buruh' (ASC C); 'ciuitatem Wil-toniam' ( <i>John of Worcester</i> , II, 454)	Vikings
Salisbury	Wilts.	1003	CDE		Vikings
Reading	Berks.	1006	CDE		Vikings
Wallingford	Berks.	1006	CDE		Vikings
Cholsey	Berks.	1006	CD		
Scutchamer Knob	Berks.	1006	CDE		Vikings

Losers	Type of 'encounter'	Domesday holder TRE (Phillimore Domesday reference)	Nearest 'farm of one night' estate centre (if 10 miles or less), with Phillimore reference	Distance (miles)
	ravaging	Ælweald (Som. 25:36)	Williton (Som. 1:6)	2
	ravaging	Borough held by king (Dev. 1:2)		
	destruction	Tavistock Church (Dev. 5:1)		
Men of Hants	battle	Earl Godwine (Sussex 11:3); Countess Godgifu (Sussex 9:44; 9:49; 9:80); Edwine (Sussex 10:33); Azor (Sussex 10:34)	?	
	destruction	King (Dev. 1:10)		
	battle	City held by king (Dev. C1)	Silverton (Dev. 1:7)	7
Men of Devon?	battle	Earl Leofwine (Dev. 1:52)	Silverton (Dev. 1:7)	6
	destruction	Ordwulf from king (Dev. 1:56)	Silverton (Dev. 1:7)	4
	destruction	Bishop of Winchester (Hants 2:9)	Kingsworthy (Hants 1:17)	10
	destruction	City held by king (Dev. C1)	Silverton (Dev. 1:7)	7
	destruction	Borough held by ?king (Wilts. B1)	Amesbury (Wilts. 1:3)	8
	-	King, receiving third penny (Wilts. B4)	Amesbury (Wilts. 1:3)	6
	seizure?	King (Berks. 1:41)		
	destruction	King receiving <i>gablo</i> (Berks. B1)		
	encampment	King (Berks. 1:7)		
	posturing	King (Berks. 1:38); Thorir's father, commended to Bishop of Sherborne (Berks. 3:2); Alwine (Berks. 17:9); seven free men (Berks. 17:10); Godric Sheriff (Berks. 21:17); Sæwine (Berks. 44:1; 65:13)		

Battle site	Shire	Year of event	ASC version	Description (if appropriate)	Victors
Kennet	Wilts.	1006	CDE		Vikings
Cannings	Wilts.	1010	CDE		Vikings
Winchester	Hants	1013	CDE		Vikings
Cricklade	Wilts.	1016	CDE		Vikings
Penselwood	Som.	1016	CDE		Vikings
Portland	Dors.	1052	E		Godwine's men
Porlock	Som.	1052	E		Harold's men
Pevensey	Sussex	1066	D		Normans
Hastings	Sussex	1066	DE		Normans
Grey Apple-Tree	Sussex	1066	D		Normans

Losers	Type of 'encounter'	Domesday holder TRE (Phillimore Domesday reference)	Nearest 'farm of one night' estate centre (if 10 miles or less), with Phillimore reference	Distance (miles)
Men of Wilts.?	battle	Wulfgeat, Alnoth, Eadmar, Leofric, Wulfmar (Wilts. 26:21); Leofdag (Wilts. 37:5); Hunwine (Wilts. 50:5)	Calne (Wilts. 1:1)	7
	ravaging	Bishops Cannings held by Bishop of Salisbury (Wilts. 3:2); All Cannings held by St Mary's, Winchester (Wilts. 14:2)	Calne (Wilts. 1:1)	6
	seizure (surrender)	Rights in borough held by king (Winton Domesday, p. 33)	Kingsworthy (Hants 1:17)	2
	river crossing	King, receiving third penny (Wilts. B4)		
English	battle	Beorhtnoth (Som. 22:27)	Gillingham (Dors. 1:4)	5
	ravaging	King (Dors. 1:1)	Dorchester (Dors. 1:4)	6
	ravaging	Algar (Som. 20:3)	Carhampton (Som. 1:6)	8
	landing	Borough held by king and Bishop of Chichester and other priests (Sussex 10:1)	Eastbourne (Sussex 10:2)	5
	building of castle	Borough held by king (Sussex 5:1)		
English	battle	Uckham held by Wulfbeald from Earl Godwine (Sussex 8:3)		

<sup>1</sup> *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: An Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday*, ed. by Frank Barlow and others (Oxford, 1976), p. 33.



## REPORTING SCOTLAND IN THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE

Alex Woolf

The aim of this paper is to explore the changing way in which the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle reports events in northern Britain, beyond the Anglo-Saxon territories, in the hope of gaining a better understanding both of events in that region and, perhaps more interestingly, the way in which the Chronicle was constructed. Since the Chronicle is principally a West Saxon text, produced at the southern end of the island, the transformation in its own perspective may reflect the changing horizons of the West Saxon learned elite. As in any such study of the Chronicle this exploration must begin with an examination of MS A, widely, if not universally, regarded as the closest witness we have to the chronicle's earliest, and most thoroughly West Saxon, form.<sup>1</sup> For this initial analysis the interpolations of Hand 8, the principal scribe of MS F, will be ignored since these, for the most part, represent material derived from the Northern Recension of the Chronicle which I hope to discuss at a later occasion.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest 'Scottish' reference found in MS A is the mention of the Emperor Claudius's conquest of Orkney at 46A which was probably derived from Bede who had obtained the erroneous date of AD 46 from Eutropius.<sup>3</sup> The point of the allusion here, as in the texts from which it derives, seems simply to have been to emphasize the completeness of Roman hegemony in Britain rather than to reflect any real interest in the far north. A more fruitful and systematic analysis can be

<sup>1</sup> Bately, *MS A*.

<sup>2</sup> Bately, *MS A*, p. xl.

<sup>3</sup> Bede, *HE*, I, 3 and V, 24. Eutropius, *Breviarum ab urbe condita*, VII, 13, 3, ed. by H. Droysen, MGH AA, 2 (Berlin, 1879).

pursued with regard to the ethnonyms applied to northern peoples: *Cumbere*, *Peohtas*, *Stræledwalas*, and *Scottas*.

Of these peoples the first mentioned are the *Scottas*, who appear in entries for the years 430, 565, 597, 891, 902, 920, 937, 945, and 946. The first of these entries for 430A ('Her Paladius se biscep wæs onsended to Scottum þæt he hiera geleafan trymede from Celestino þam papan') again derives from Bede.<sup>4</sup> Ultimately Bede's information came from Prosper of Aquitaine who clearly intended the Irish as the recipients of Palladius's ministry. The entry for 565, recording the mission of Columba, is likewise derived from Bede.<sup>5</sup> The entry for 597A is, on the other hand, particularly curious. It reads:

Her ongon Ceolwulf ricsian on Wesseaxum 7 simle he feaht 7 won, oþþe wiþ Angelcyn,  
oþþe uuīþ Walas, oþþe wiþ Peohtas, oþþe wiþ Scottas....<sup>6</sup>

Historians have been sceptical of the claims made for Ceolwulf's pan-British activities, and it would seem rather to reflect the concerns of a later age when West Saxon rulers did indeed have such wide ambitions. This entry marks the final reference to *Scottas* before the 890s which, whatever date one wishes to postulate for the inception of the Chronicle, was certainly within the lifetime of the originator(s) of the project.<sup>7</sup> The entry for 597 differs from those for 430 and 565 in a number of ways. Firstly, it is not derived from Bede, who does not mention this king, nor is it concerned with ecclesiastical matters. It is also noteworthy that the accounts of Palladius and Columba use *to Scottum* and *of Scottum* to denote movement to and from Ireland whereas the most likely interpretation of the account of Ceolwulf's wars is that he was in conflict with the peoples of Britain. It is tempting to link this catalogue of opponents with Bede's account of the populating of Britain in *HE*, I, 1. Here Bede lists the secular languages of Britain as English, British, Gaelic (*Scottorum*), and Pictish (in that order) and then goes swiftly on to tell of the coming of the Britons, the Picts, and the Scots (in that order) to the island. The order of the list of Ceolwulf's foes matches that in the summary of origin legends (though the English are absent from Bede's account) rather than that of the list of languages. While it is tempting to view the claims made here for Ceolwulf as a

<sup>4</sup> 'Here Palladius the bishop was sent to the Scots, that he may strengthen their faith, by Pope Celestine', following Bede, *HE*, V, 24.

<sup>5</sup> Bede, *HE*, V, 24.

<sup>6</sup> Bately, *MS A*, 597. 'Here Ceolwulf began to rule among the West Saxons and continuously he fought and contended either with *Angelcyn*, or with *Wealas* or with *Peohtas* or with *Scottas*....'

<sup>7</sup> For the debate, see other contributions to this volume and Dumville, 'Origins'.

product of Alfredian propaganda, it is worth noting that Alfred and his kindred did not themselves claim descent from Ceolwulf.<sup>8</sup> Ceolwulf was, however, the last king of the West Saxons to die a pagan, and this may have been of some significance. We are, after all, not told that Ceolwulf won his battles, and it may be that the message which we were intended to receive was that every man's hand was turned against him. While it is perfectly possible that a sixth-century West Saxon king might have fought against *Scottas*, either the descendants of Irish settlers in Dyfed or those in Devon and Cornwall, or genuine raiders from Ireland, it seems unlikely that he would have numbered *Peohtas* among his enemies. In summary it seems most likely that this represents a retrospective exercise of some kind produced by the author of the first recension of the Chronicle.

What all three of these entries have in common is that they belong to the proto-historic phase of the Chronicle for which it is unlikely that any native English written records were available to the chronicler. The absence of any references to *Scottas* from the pre-Alfredian Christian era, on the other hand, almost certainly reflects the myopic vision of the chroniclers whose annals underlie the surviving text of the Chronicle from the seventh to the ninth centuries and to some extent their selective use of Bede.<sup>9</sup> The entries in MS A concerning Palladius and Columba seem to be drawn from the annalistic epitome with which Bede concluded his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and indeed are two of the only three entries to mention *Scotti* in that work:

Anno CCCCLXXX Palladius ad Scottos in Christum credentes a Caelestino papa primus mittitur episcopus.

Anno DLXV Columba presbyter de Scottia uenit Brittaniam ad docendos Pictos, et in insula Hii monasterium fecit.

Anno DCLXIII eclipsis facta; Earcoberht rex Cantuariorum defunctus, et Colman cum Scottis ad suos reuersus est.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Bately, *MS A*, p. 1 and 855A.

<sup>9</sup> For which see Janet M. Bately, 'The Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 60 BC to AD 890: Vocabulary as Evidence', *PBA*, 64 (1978), 93–129; and Bately, 'World History in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Its Sources and its Separateness from the Old English Orosius', *ASE*, 8 (1979), 177–94.

<sup>10</sup> Bede, *HE*, V, 24. '430. Palladius was sent by Pope Celestinus to be the first bishop of the Irish Christians.' '565. The priest Columba came from Ireland to Britain to teach the Picts and established the monastery on Iona.' '664. There was an eclipse. King Eorcenberht of Kent died and Colmán and his Irish returned to their own people.'

The final and third notice here, that of Colmán's return to Ireland after the Synod of Whitby, also made it into the A-text of the Chronicle but, perhaps purely for stylistic reasons, the *Scott-* word was not used:

AN dclxiii Her sunne aþiestrode, 7 Arcenbryht Cantwara cyng forþferde; Colman mid his geferum for to his cyððe.<sup>11</sup>

In this entry it is unambiguously the case that *HE*, V, 24 was the source for the annal.

The pattern for the *Peohtas* is very similar. They appear *s.a.* 565, 597, 710, and 875. The entries for 565 and 597, concerning Columba and Ceolwulf respectively, we have already dealt with. That for 710 is an interpolation by Hand 3, a scribe of the mid-tenth century, but since the entry also appears in MS C it is deemed likely that it was part of the original set of annals for this period and was omitted through carelessness by the scribe who copied the entries to AD 891 in MS A.<sup>12</sup> It is also drawn from Bede's chronological summary at the end of *Historia Ecclesiastica*.<sup>13</sup>

The entry for 875 represents what might be termed the (near-)contemporary phase of the first recension. This entry, 875A, also marks the first appearance of the *Strecedwalas* who also appear in 920A. 875A is a lengthy entry on the doings of the Great Army:

Her for se here from Hreopedune, 7 Healfdene for mid sumum þam here on Norphymbre 7 nam wintersetl be Tinan þære ei, 7 se here þæt lond geode 7 'o'ft hergade on Peohtas 7 on Strecedwalas....<sup>14</sup>

This passage also appears, translated into Latin, in §47 of Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, thus confirming its existence by the 890s. As a final reference to the Picts in contemporary English sources, and as the only genuinely contemporary reference to them in the Chronicle, it coincides neatly with the Irish chronicle tradition which uses the description *rex Pictorum* for the last time in the obit of Aed son of Cinaed in 878.<sup>15</sup> By the late eleventh century, at the latest, Irish synthetic

<sup>11</sup> 'Here the sun was eclipsed and Eorcenberht king of the Cantware passed away; Colmán with his companions went to his own homeland.'

<sup>12</sup> Bately, *MS A*, pp. xxxiv–xxxv; Dumville, 'Origins', p. 66. This instance provides the clearest evidence that MS A was not the 'original' of the Chronicle as has sometimes been supposed.

<sup>13</sup> Bede, *HE*, V, 24, *s.a.* 711.

<sup>14</sup> Bately, *MS A*, 875A. 'Here the army went from Repton and Healfdene went with some of that army among the Northumbrians and took winter quarters by the river Tyne there, and the army conquered that land and often harried among the *Peohtas* and among the *Strecedwalas*....'

<sup>15</sup> *The Annals of Ulster (to AD 1131)*, ed. by S. Mac Airt and G. Mac Niocaill (Dublin, 1983) (henceforth *AU*), *s.a.* 878.2. *Chronicum Scotorum*, ed. by W. M. Hennessy (London, 1866), does

historians reckoned that Aed's brother and predecessor Constantín, who had died in 876, had been the last king of the Picts.<sup>16</sup>

The coincidence of terminology between the Irish chronicles and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in this period is not confined to the case of the Picts. *AU* 872.5 notices the killing of Artgal *rex Britanorum Sratha Cluade*, the first use of the Irish term cognate to *Stræledwalas* in the chronicle record. Prior to this there had been notice of kings of *Ail Cluaithe*, 'Clyde Rock' at Dumbarton, but not of *Sratha Cluaide*. Although the form is British in origin, *Ystrad Clud* in Modern Welsh orthography, meaning 'Clydesdale', it appears only once in the A-text of the *Annales Cambriae s.a.* 945.<sup>17</sup> Thus the first Chronicle notice of this people coincides with a changing Irish perception of the political geography of the area. It cannot be emphasized enough, however, that the appearance of the north in a West Saxon text at this point is largely due to the interest of the chronicler in the movements of the Great Army. It was the broad horizons of Healfdene and his kinsmen, *mære mearcstapas* that they were, which drew the gaze of southron eyes upon the *Peohtas* and *Stræledwalas*. Nonetheless the contemporary nature of MS A for the late ninth and early tenth centuries also allows us to view its use of *Scottas* from a new perspective. The entries for 891 and probably 902 are concerned with Irish ecclesiastics, in the former case with the three wanderings scholars who arrived at Alfred's court, and in the latter with the obit of an unidentified *Uirgilius abbud of Scottum*.<sup>18</sup> There seems to be no corresponding obit for a 'Virgil' in the Irish chronicles, and thus it is quite likely that he was an expatriate Gael, perhaps one of those scholars like Asser and John the Old Saxon who had come to serve in Alfred's kingdom.

The annal for 920 is the last entry in quire C and the last entry in the hands labelled 2a–f written by one or more scribes between c. 915 and the later 920s.<sup>19</sup> This entry marks the end of the account of Edward the Elder's campaigns which is unique to MS A. This account may well have been written at Winchester. The

not note Aed's death and thus the obit of his brother Constantín, *s.a.* 876 (also noticed in *AU*), is its final instance of *rex Pictorum*.

<sup>16</sup> M. O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1973), pp. 78–79. Aed's very short reign, noticed only in this obit, may have been easily forgotten. Even his obit is missing from the Clonmacnoise group of chronicles.

<sup>17</sup> *Annales Cambriae, AD 682–954: Texts A–C in Parallel*, ed. by David Dumville, Basic Texts for Brittonic History, 1 (Cambridge, 2002), p. 16.

<sup>18</sup> 891A and 902A. See also David N. Dumville, *Three Men in a Boat: Scribe, Language and Culture in the Church of Viking-Age Europe* (Cambridge, 1997).

<sup>19</sup> Dumville, 'Origins', pp. 55–98, and Bately, *MS A*, pp. xxv–xxxiv.

annal for 920 tells of Edward's securing of the north-central frontier of Mercia through the construction of *burhs* at Nottingham and Bakewell and of a bridge at Nottingham linking his own *burh* to that built by the Great Army on an earlier occasion. The entry continues:

7 hine geces þa to fæder 7 to hlaforde Scotta cyning 7 eall Scotta þeod, 7 Rægnald 7 Eadulfes suna 7 ealle þa þe on Norphymbrum bugeaþ, ægþer ge Englisce ge Denisce ge Norþmen ge oþre, 7 eac Stræcledweala cyning ealle Stræcledwealas.<sup>20</sup>

This episode is clearly the sequel to a northern event not noted in the A-text nor even in the Northern Recension of the chronicle: the Battle of Corbridge. Accounts of this battle are, however, preserved in the *Annals of Ulster*, in the Scottish chronicle known now as the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba*, and in *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*.

AU 918.4 The Gaill of Loch Dá Cháech, i.e. Ragnall, king of the Dark Gaill, and the two earls Oitir and Gragabai, forsook Ireland and proceeded afterwards against the men of Alba. The men of Alba, moreover, moved against them and they met on the banks of the Tyne in northern 'Saxony'. The heathens formed themselves into four battalions: a battalion with Gothfrith grandson of Ímar, a battalion with the two earls, and a battalion with the 'young lords' (Gaelic *óctigerna*). There was also a battalion in ambush with Ragnall which the men of Alba did not see. The men of Alba routed the three battalions which they saw, and made a very great slaughter of the heathens, including Oitir and Gragabai. Ragnall, however, then attacked in the rear of the men of Alba, and made a slaughter of them, although they did not lose a king or *mormaer*. Nightfall caused the battle to be broken off.

*Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* recounts the story thus:

These he performed faithfully until King Rægnald came with a great multitude of ships and occupied the territory of Ealdred son of Eadwulf, who was a friend of King Edward, just as his father Eadwulf had been a favourite of King Alfred. Ealdred, having been driven off, went therefore to Scotia, seeking aid from King Constantín, and brought him into battle against Rægnald at Corbridge. In this battle, I know not what sin being the cause, the pagan king vanquished Constantín, routed the Scots, put Elfred the faithful man of St Cuthbert to flight and killed all the English nobles save Ealdred and his brother Uhtred.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Bately, *MS A*, 920A. 'And then he was chosen as father and lord by *Scotta* king and the *Scotta* nation and by Rægnald and by the sons of Eadwulf and all those who dwelt in Northumbria whether English, or Danish or Norsemen, or other, and also by the *Stræcledweala* king and all the *Stræcledwealas*.'

<sup>21</sup> *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, ed. by Ted Johnson South, Anglo-Saxon Texts, 3 (Cambridge, 2002), §22. For the much briefer notice in the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba*, see B. T. Hudson, 'The Scottish Chronicle', *Scottish Historical Review*, 77 (1998), 129–61.

From these accounts we can infer that Regnald, a Viking leader active in Ireland, had contested control of Northumbria with its native rulers, Ealdred and Uhtred sons of Eadwulf; that the latter had called upon Constantín king of Alba to help them; and that, Regnald having held the field, after a somewhat pyrrhic victory, Edward stepped in as a peace broker; Northumbria's adversity was Edward's opportunity.<sup>22</sup> If this interpretation is correct and the unnamed *Scotta cyning* of 920A is indeed Constantín of Alba then this is the first near contemporary use of the *Scott*-term for the northern kingdom. Constantín himself appears to have been the son of that Aed who was the last *rex Pictorum* noted in the Irish chronicles, or so a late tenth-century pedigree would have us believe.<sup>23</sup> From the perspective of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, then, we can perhaps say that Pictland had been transformed into Scotland at some point between 875 and the mid- to late 920s when the entry concerning Edward's meeting with the northerners was written. It is much to be regretted that interest in the North waned in Wessex between the death of Healfdene and the 920s.

Just as 920A marks the first appearance of Albanian *Scottas* in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle so it also marks the final appearance of *Stræledwealas*, previously encountered alongside the *Peohtas* in 875A. The absence of the *Stræledwealas* from the accounts of the Battle of Corbridge may incline us to note with caution the use of *eac* to introduce the *Stræledweals cyning* in 920A. Is the chronicler here signalling that the submission of the *Stræledwealas* was separate from Edward's negotiations with the rulers who had fought at Corbridge?

With the annal for 920 we come to the end of the near-contemporary initial phases of MS A and, to some extent, this version of the chronicle now loses its privileged position. The next section of the Chronicle, comprising fols 26<sup>r</sup>–27<sup>v</sup>, was written, for the most part, by Hand 3 working in the mid-950s.<sup>24</sup> It may thus represent a retrospective account of the reigns of the sons of Edward. It is, nonetheless, clear from its relationship with the same sequence of annals in other versions of the Chronicle that whatever their provenance they do not originate with the scribe of Hand 3 but were copied from a pre-existing source.<sup>25</sup> This 'Chronicle of

<sup>22</sup> For a review of the historiography of this notice of Edward's relations with the northerners, see Michael R. Davidson, 'The (Non)submission of the Northern Kings in 920', in Higham and Hill, pp. 200–11.

<sup>23</sup> This pedigree is printed in full in its original form by John Bannerman in *Studies in the History of Dál Riata* (Edinburgh, 1974), pp. 65–66.

<sup>24</sup> Bately, *MS A*, pp. xxxiv–xxxv.

<sup>25</sup> An alternative possibility is that the scribe of Hand 3 simply updated MS A by copying entries from a version of the chronicle which had continued the Common Stock (Dumville,

the Sons of Edward' mentions *Scottas* on three occasions, *s.a.* 937, 945, and 946, and also contains the earliest reference to the kingdom of Alba as *Scotland*, at 933A. As is well known the entry *s.a.* 937 is, in fact, the *Brunanburh* poem and clearly had an original existence independent of the Chronicle, as indicated by the fact that the poet writes *Sceotta* rather than *Scotta*. Nonetheless in the poem it is probable that the term is applied to Constantín's followers although it is by no means impossible that Irish followers of Anlaf might have been intended. The entries for 945 and 946, however, are clearly part of the main chronicle and are linked in that they serve to mark the high points of Edmund's and Eadred's reigns:

Her Eadmund cyning oferhergode eal Cumbra land 7 hit let to eal Malculme Scotta  
cyninge on þæt gerad þæt he wære his midwyrhta ægþer ge on sæ ge on lande.

7 þa feng Eadred æþeling his broþor to rice 7 gerad eal Norþhymbra land him to gewældan,  
7 Scottas him aþas sealdan, þæt hie woldan eal þæt he wolde.<sup>26</sup>

The first notice is clearly to Mael Coluim mac Domnaill king of Alba, and it would be perverse, albeit not impossible, to argue that the second notice did not also refer to the Albanians. 945A also contains the only reference to *Cumbere* in MS A. That the *Cumbere* were indeed the same people as those referred to as *Stræcedwealas* is confirmed by the entry in the near contemporary A-text of *Annales Cambriae*: 'Et Strat Clut uastata est a Saxonibus.'<sup>27</sup> The reference to Scotland in this 'Chronicle of the Sons of Edward' unambiguously refers to northern Britain:

Her for Æþelstan cyning in on Scotland, ægþer ge mid landhere ge mid scyphere, 7 his  
micel oferhergade.<sup>28</sup>

'Origins', p. 66). The absence of coverage between 920 and 924 and the extremely parsimonious coverage of Æthelstan's reign would seem to make this unlikely. More likely, perhaps, is that Hand 3 derived his source material from a copy of the Chronicle containing the Mercian Register but chose not to include it since Hand 2 had already provided annals for the bulk of the period which it covered.

<sup>26</sup> Bately, *MS A*, 945A: 'Here King Edmund harried across all of the land of the *Cumbere* and let it all to Mael Coluim *Scotta* cyning on condition that he be his co-worker both on sea and on land.' Bately, *MS A*, 946A: 'And then Eadred Ætheling, his brother, took power and compelled all the land of the Northumbrians to accept his rule and the *Scottas* gave him oaths that they would do all that he wished.'

<sup>27</sup> *Annales Cambriae*, ed. by Dumville, 945A. '[A]nd Ystrad Clud (Strathclyde) was ravaged by the English.'

<sup>28</sup> Bately, *MS A*, 933A: 'Here King Æthelstan went into *Scotland*, both with land-army and with fleet and he ravaged greatly.'

It would have been very difficult for Æthelstan to have invaded Ireland *ge mid landhere ge mid scyphere*, yet as recently as the reign of his grandfather Alfred the anonymous translator of Orosius was able to write of 'Igbernia ðæt we Scotland hataþ'.<sup>29</sup>

There is perhaps some irony in the coincidence that the scribe who produced the earliest surviving copy of the Old English Orosius also provided Hand 2 of MS A, in which, *s.a.* 914, he wrote the earliest extant example of the word *Irlande* for Ireland. It seems probable that the scribe copied Orosius prior to 914A, and it is therefore interesting that he did not feel the need to correct either form but found both *Scotland* and *Irland* as acceptable names for the same place.<sup>30</sup> Dumville has suggested that *Irland* represents a borrowing from Old Norse, but this not the only explanation possible.<sup>31</sup> The Old English form might, rather, derive from British forms ancestral to modern Welsh *Iwerddon* (i.e. *\*Iwerijo*) but only if they were borrowed early. Professor Jackson showed that in early borrowings of the 'iw+ following vowel' cluster from British into English the /w/ was lost and the rare, non-diphthong, *i+e* vowel cluster in Old English regularly contracts to *i* or *y*.<sup>32</sup> The possibility exists that both usages coexisted within Old English or that they represent dialect variation (a point to which we shall return below).

So far as the other southern versions of the Chronicle are concerned our analysis of MS A, to this point, will also serve, noting of course the occasional variation in the calendar dates applied to individual annals. MS C does contain further references in the eleventh-century section of the chronicle, but northern affairs are notably absent from the late tenth-century sections of the southern versions of the Chronicle.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, *Scottas* only appear again in the account of the reign of Edward the Confessor and its immediate aftermath at 1054, 1065, and 1066. *Cumerland* appears *s.a.* 1000, once again only to be harried.

<sup>29</sup> *The Old English Orosius*, ed. by Janet Bately, EETS, SS, 6 (London, 1980), I, 1, discussed in David N. Dumville, 'Ireland and Britain in *Táin Bó Fraich*', *Études Celtique*, 32 (1996), 175–87 (p. 181, n. 31).

<sup>30</sup> Dumville, 'Origins', p. 68.

<sup>31</sup> Dumville, 'Ireland and Britain', p. 181 and n. 33. Dumville also claims here that *Yrlande* in 891F may be a contemporary annal, but in all other versions of the Chronicle 'Hibernia' is used at this point.

<sup>32</sup> Kenneth H. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953; repr. Dublin, 1994), pp. 374–75.

<sup>33</sup> O'Brien O'Keeffe, *MS C*. The so-called Mercian Register contains no references to northerners.

### *Discussion of the Southern Recension*

A simple listing of entries related in some way or other to Scotland is not in itself a particularly useful or enlightening exercise. Observations can be made, however, that shed more light on early Insular history, and in particular on the writing of the Chronicle. We have already noted, for example, the disappearance of the *Peohtas* between 875 and 920 which, in itself, is connected to the apparent relocation of the *Scottas* from Ireland to northern Britain between 891 and 920, and there are others areas which may prove far more illuminating.

Perhaps the most fruitful line of enquiry that remains concerns the transformation of the *Strædedwalas* into *Cumere/Cumbere* between 920 and 945. In terms of MS A this would seem to be a reflex of the switch from Scribe 2, whose work ended with 920A, to Scribe 3 who copied pre-existing annals for 924 to 946 into the manuscript retrospectively, *c.* 950, and then continued a more-or-less contemporary record. The first occurrence of *Cumbra land*, at 945A, was presumably in Scribe 3's exemplar. This exemplar, Dumville has argued, comprised two principal elements:

- a) a set of four local Winchester annals for 932–35; and
- b) an account of royal successions and wars against the Northumbrians — 924, 934, 938–46.<sup>34</sup>

As Dumville points out, '[t]he latter are found, generally in better textual condition, in other versions of the Chronicle [*sic*], but the former are unique to A'. It might therefore be argued that a better title for the Common Stock of the Chronicle in this period than the 'Chronicle of the Sons of Edward', proposed above, might be the 'History of the Conquest of Northumbria'. This being the case it may be that *Cumbere* represents a northern, perhaps Northumbrian, usage. This should, perhaps, hardly surprise us since until recently Cumberland, and now Cumbria, still figure(d) as administrative units of northern England. Symeon of Durham uses the Latin form *Cumbrorum* when discussing 'Owino', king of the Cumbrians in his *Libellus*.<sup>35</sup> *Historia Regum Anglorum* also uses the term.<sup>36</sup> The

<sup>34</sup> Dumville, 'Origins', p. 64.

<sup>35</sup> *Symeon of Durham: Libellus de Exordio atque Procursu istius hoc est Dunhelmensis Ecclesie*, ed. by David W. Rollason (Oxford, 2000), II, 18.

<sup>36</sup> *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, vol. II: *Historia Regum*, ed. by Thomas Arnold (London, 1885), p. 93 (Pt I, *s.a.* 937), and in a number of other places deriving from Florence of Worcester or other post-Conquest sources. Anglo-Latin writers from before the Viking Age used terms such as *Brettones* and *Britanni*, etc., and did not attempt to Latinize either *Walas* or *Cumbere*.

word itself can be derived, unproblematically, from the native term which lies behind modern Welsh *Cymry* (Welsh people, sg. *Cymro*) and *Cymru* ('Wales'). The modern distinction between these two terms, for people and land, had not yet arisen in the period with which we are concerned. Ultimately these terms derive from British \**Combrogī*, which seems to denote 'autochthons'.<sup>37</sup> Thomas Charles-Edwards has suggested that the development of the population group term was secondary and that it is a back formation from \**Combrogicā*, meaning 'vernacular', coined to distinguish British Celtic from Latin.<sup>38</sup> If, within English, the adoption of this term reflects northern usage two possibilities suggest themselves as explanations.

Firstly, as the inhabitants of the only British kingdom in the north the *Stræled-walas* may have felt that it was possible to appropriate the ethno-linguistic term to refer to their specific political grouping. In other words the Cumbrians may have called themselves Cumbrians. Writers in Wales, or familiar with Welsh, may have felt uncomfortable adopting such usage themselves since it would, inevitably, acquire an element of ambiguity in contexts where more than one kingdom of *Cymry* were involved. Amongst the Welsh, who seem to have been very comfortable with a 'British' ethnic identity which transcended individual kingdoms, politics tended to be named geographically. Although some of these geographical names may have evolved from ethnonyms, this does not seem to have been something of which the medieval Welsh were generally aware; thus, for example, although the name *Gwynedd* probably derives from an earlier \**Wenedī* (a population group name) a new population group name *Wenedoti* was developed to indicate 'People of Gwynedd'. The *Annales Cambriae* regularly uses territorial units rather than populations as its terms of reference.<sup>39</sup> If it were the case that the rulers of the Clyde styled themselves kings of the *Cymry* then northern English writers may simply have adopted the Latin term current among the *Stræledwalas* to describe them.

The second possibility is that there had been, for quite some time, a genuine distinction in Old English usage between *Cumbere/Cumere* on the one hand and *Wealas/Walas* on the other. As noted above, in British, \**Combrogī* probably

<sup>37</sup> *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (Aberystwyth, 1950–2002), s.v. *Cymro*. The apparent absence of an equivalent term in Breton may reflect the view held by the Bretons that they were not autochthonous to Armorica. Had the term existed it might, paradoxically, have been applied to the Gallo-Roman population.

<sup>38</sup> Thomas Charles-Edwards, 'Language and Society among the Insular Celts AD 400 to 1000', in *The Celtic World*, ed. by M. Green (London, 1995), pp. 703–36.

<sup>39</sup> *Annales Cambriae*, ed. by Dumville, throughout.

originally functioned to distinguish vernacular Celtic speakers from Romans. The English word *Wealas* seems, on the other hand, to have originally denoted 'Romans'. In MS A alone we have *Galwalum* at 650A and 660A, meaning 'among the Gallo-Romans', and *Bretwalas* (vel sim.) at 443A, 449A, 552A, 571A, 682A, and 755A, which presupposes other kinds of *wealh*. MS E has Edward the Confessor return from exile in *Wealland*, 'France', which is regularly *Valland* in Old Norse and *Walho-lant* in Old High German.<sup>40</sup> *Weala sunderiht* was used to gloss *jus Quiritum*.<sup>41</sup> The popular explanation that *wealh* simply denoted 'foreigner' holds no water since it is always used of peoples who had at one time been within the Roman Empire and never of Gaels, Picts, Finns, Slavs, or other more exotic peoples. The word was even borrowed into Slavonic as *Vlak/Vlach*, 'a Rumanian', and *Vlahu*, Old Church Slavonic for 'Italy'. One might also consider the modern usage of *Walloon* in Flemish, for a French speaker, and *Valais* for the Italian-speaking region of Switzerland. One could go on. In the present context one might consider whether the early Anglo-Saxons had perhaps been able to distinguish between the Romano-British population they encountered in the south, to whom they may have applied the term *wealas*, and a more barbaric, less Romanized population in the north for whom they adopted the native word *Cumbere*.<sup>42</sup> Further study of the distribution of both terms, in Old English texts and in place-names, may throw more light on this problem, but such study lies beyond the scope of the present paper.

Whichever of these hypotheses is correct, if the appearance of *Cumbere* in the Chronicle indicates northern influence on its vocabulary we might now consider two points; firstly, whether there are any other 'Northumbrianisms' which might be relevant to our discussion, and secondly, what might have informed the vocabulary regarding the north in the section of the text up to, and including, the annal for 920.

In the former category the one item which suggests itself is *Scotland*. It seems likely that the Northumbrians, of all the Anglo-Saxons, will have been those who would have most regularly needed to distinguish between Ireland and the

<sup>40</sup> Irvine, MS E, 1040E, and Bosworth Toller, *s.v.* *Wealh-land*.

<sup>41</sup> Bosworth Toller, *s.v.* *Wealh*. *Romwealas* also appears from time to time.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. the arguments made by the present writer that the importance of the Old North in medieval Welsh literature stems from the fact that vernacular forms of literature and 'barbarian' patterns of kingship developed earlier there than in Wales itself; Alex Woolf, 'The Britons: From Romans to Barbarians', in *Regna and Gentes: The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*, ed. by H.-W. Goetz, J. Jarnut, and W. Pohl with S. Kaschke (Leiden, 2002), pp. 345–81 (pp. 373–79).

settlements of the *Scottas* in northern Britain. Is there any evidence of this? In *HE*, III, 5 Bede has Oswald ask for a bishop *de prouincia Scottorum*. Since the two bishops sent came from Iona, and Bede elsewhere uses *Scotia* to denote Ireland, and uses *prouincia* in respect of that island only when subdividing it, it may be that his unproblematic use of *prouincia Scottorum*, implicitly inclusive of Iona, in *HE*, III, 5 reflects a vernacular Scotland, the province of the *Scottas* in Britain. Elsewhere Bede uses *provincia* for the territories of major Anglo-Saxon polities where the corresponding vernacular term was almost certainly *land*.

Support for the view that Scotland was an established name for Dál Riata may perhaps be found in Old Norse usage. *Orkneyinga saga* and *Heimskringla* both mention, on several occasions, an inlet of the sea called *Skotlandsfjörðr*.<sup>43</sup> Whilst most references are geographically vague and cannot be located more securely than to the west coast of Scotland, indeed there is some confusion as to whether the term is plural, *-firðir*, or singular, *-fjörðr*; one reference in Chapter 41 of *Orkneyinga saga* gives a more specific description:

Magnús konungr helt þaðan í Suðreyjar, en sendi menn sína í Skotlandsfjörðu; lét þá róa með öðru landi ut, en öðru inn ok eignar sér svá allar eyjar fyrir vestan Skotland.<sup>44</sup>

Magnus's fleet, we are told, rowed in and out of *Skotlandsfjörðr*, keeping the land to starboard. Their starting point was the western side of the narrow isthmus which divides Kintyre from Knapdale, now West Loch Tarbert. It is fairly clear then that *Skotlandsfjörðr* was imagined to be the Atlantic end of the fault line that created the Great Glen and must have comprised the stretches of water now known as the Firth of Lorn and Loch Linnhe, the islands in question being those that lie between Kintyre and Ardnamurchan Point. Now from the perspective of the period of saga composition, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Firth of Lorn was not the most obviously Scottish of fjords. Scottish royal power barely extended to the west coast, where *reguli* ruled in Argyll, and if the name 'Scotland's Fjord' were to be coined in this period then the Firth of Tay, leading to the important commercial, royal, and religious centres of Perth, Scone, and Dunkeld,

<sup>43</sup> *Orkneyinga saga*, ed. by Finnbogi Guðmundsson (Reykjavík, 1965), pp. 58, 99, 178, 274, and 387. *Heimskringla*, ed. by Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, 3 vols (Reykjavík, 1951), III, 219 and 224. There are no references to *Skotlandsfjörðr*/*-firðir* in the other volumes of *Heimskringla* or in the earlier collections of kings' sagas, and the contexts of the references here suggest that a version of *Orkneyinga saga* may, ultimately, have been Snorri's source.

<sup>44</sup> *Orkneyinga saga*, ed. by Finnbogi Guðmundsson, p. 99. 'King Magnus steered thence into the *Suðreyjar* but he sent his men into *Skotlandsfjörðr* ordering that they row both in and out with the land to starboard and thus he possessed himself of all the islands lying west of Scotland.'

or the Firth of Forth, known in French, apparently, as *Scottewatre* because it separated 'Scotia proper' from the culturally Northumbrian province of Lothian, would both be more likely candidates.<sup>45</sup>

The most appropriate period for the name *Skotlandsfjörðr* to have been applied to a west coast feature would have been before the Scottish kingdom became securely located on the eastern coast and when Argyll formed the British portion of Dál Riata and was inhabited by those whom Bede described as 'Scotti qui Britanniam incolunt'.<sup>46</sup> Indeed the division of mainland and islands, described in the saga as having occurred in the time of Magnús *berfætr*, looks more like an account of a division of Dál Riata in the ninth century than an origin story for Norwegian hegemony over the Kingdom of the Isles in the eleventh or twelfth. The name *Skotlandsfjörðr* can be compared with that of *Péttlandsfjörðr* which survives today as the Pentland Firth, separating Orkney from Caithness. The first element of this name, *Péttland*, means the 'Land of the Picts', *Péttar* being the Old Norse name for this people.<sup>47</sup> The phonology of *Péttar* unambiguously betrays the fact that it originated as a loan word from Old English *Peht* or *Peoht*. The disappearance of the Picts from northern Britain at some point in the ninth or tenth centuries makes it fairly clear that the name of the 'firth' was coined during the Viking Age when the Picts were the southern neighbours of the Orcadians.<sup>48</sup> If, like *Péttland*, *Skotland* was an English loan into Norse, and none of the other Insular vernaculars commonly used words deriving from *Scotus*, then it seems likely that *Scotland* was already in use in Old English, as a term for Argyll, before the end of the ninth century. Within Old English, however, such a usage may have been confined to Northumbria for West Saxons will have, most naturally, thought of Ireland as the land of the *Scottas*.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>45</sup> For *Scottewatre*, see *De Situ Albaniae*, ed. by Anderson in *Kings and Kingship*, pp. 240–43.

<sup>46</sup> Bede, *HE*, V, 23.

<sup>47</sup> The twelfth-century *Historia Norwegie*, ed. by I. Ekrem and L. B. Mortensen (Copenhagen, 2003), VI, displays a poor grasp of ninth-century realities when it explains *Terra Petorum* (*Péttland*) as the old name of Orkney, the *Mare Petlandicum* thus separating this country from *Scotia*.

<sup>48</sup> The fact that the Pentland Firth is a strait rather than a fjord, per se, leads one to wonder whether the name was not, perhaps, originally applied to the Moray Firth, which penetrated the heart of the Pictish kingdom. As the water separating Scotland from the earldom of Orkney, its geographical location may have retreated before advancing Scottish frontiers.

<sup>49</sup> The use of the ethnonyms *Skottar* and *Írar* in skaldic verse would repay reinvestigation. *Péttar* does not appear in the surviving corpus.

Considering what seemed most natural for a West Saxon writer returns us to the choice of the term *Strædedwalas* by the annalist(s) writing the text prior to and including the entry for 920A. MS C does not, of course, include the entry for 920 but does contain that for 875A under 876C. Here *Stræded Wealas* is written as two words rather than as a simple compound. No form of the term 'Strathclyde' appears in any of our Northumbrian sources, Latin or vernacular. The closest they come is in the account in *Historia Regum Anglorum* which says that at the Battle of Carham (s.a. 1018) the Scots king Mael Coluim was supported by 'Eugenius Caluus rex Clutiniensium'. The term used for Eugenius's kingdom, which was probably intended to be *Clutiensium* from \**Clutienses*, would seem to derive from the Welsh vernacular term *Cludwys* which appears in the poem *Armes Prydein*, which has been variously dated to between the mid-tenth and the mid-eleventh centuries.<sup>50</sup> *Cludwys* denotes 'People of the Clyde'. It might be noted that there is no hint of the word *ystrad*, the first element of *Strædedwalas*. As noted earlier this form appears to be Welsh in origin, and it is not the only Welsh form in the Chronicle for the later ninth and tenth centuries. Most obviously, perhaps, one's eye is drawn to the name of the Bishop of *Ircingafeld* who was kidnapped by Vikings at 914A and 915BC. His name is spelled *Cameleac* in A and *Camelgeac* in B and C. This name is modern Welsh *Cyfeilliog* and this same bishop's name is variously spelled in the *Book of Llandaf* (an early twelfth-century text based in part upon a range of somewhat earlier written sources) as *Cimeilliauc*, *Cimelliauc*, and *Ciueilliauc*.<sup>51</sup> Since the Welsh sound represented in these forms by 'au' had earlier been /a:/ the final syllable causes no problems. Similarly the first vowel would, by the tenth century, have been a schwa, represented in modern orthography by 'y' and open to a number of interpretations in Old English. More problematic is the medial 'm'. Original British /m/ had by the eleventh century, at the latest, lenited or spirantized to become /v/. One methodology for assessing the date of the change might have been conventions adopted to represent these elements in Old English. The fact that Old English *Defna* (the genitive plural form of the people of Devon,

<sup>50</sup> *Armes Prydein: The Prophecy of Britain from the Book of Taliesin*, ed. by Sir Ifor Williams (English version by R. Bromwich) (Dublin, 1982), line 11. Sir Ifor presents the case for a mid-tenth-century date. For the suggestion of a mid-eleventh-century date, see C. Etchingham, 'North Wales, Ireland and the Isles: The Insular Viking Zone', *Peritia*, 15 (2001), 154–87 (pp. 183–86).

<sup>51</sup> Jackson, *Language and History*, p. 298. For the date and character of the Book of Llandaf, see J. R. Davies, 'Liber Landavensis: Its Date and the Identity of its Editor', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 35 (1998), 1–12, and the same author's *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales* (Woodbridge, 2003).

823A) derives from an original British stem *Dumn-* whereas Bede (writing c. 730 of events of the early seventh century), the Tribal Hidage (*Elmed setna*), and the modern Yorkshire place-names preserve original British *Elmet*, whilst in Welsh this became *Elfed*, might bear this out.<sup>52</sup> Attempts, however, by Förster and Jackson to tie down the chronology by surveying British place-name elements borrowed into English failed to produce clear results.<sup>53</sup> In part this was because of the ambiguous evidence regarding Old English reception of the nasalized intermediate forms, and in part due to the philologists' use of historical and archaeological frameworks which are no longer regarded as valid. A further factor may be the failure of either scholar to even consider the possibility that some of these Celtic place-names might, like the words *Picti* > *Peohtas* and *Scotti* > *Scottas*, have been transmitted to Old English (or its ancestral Germanic dialects) via the medium of Romance, in which /m/ is unlikely to have undergone lenition. This latter factor may, for example, account for the complete absence of /v/ forms in the heavily Romanized counties of Dorset, Wiltshire, and Hampshire.

Jackson noted that *Cameleac* represents an extremely late reception of /m/, or even an /m/-like nasal form, but presuming a reliance on oral transmission was forced to accept that this was what it was. He even pointed to another name in the same Chronicle entry, *Deomedum* (914A, 915BC), to demonstrate that the sound could so be received in this period.<sup>54</sup> In fact there are three, and possibly four, names derived from Welsh in this entry. The annal begins with an account of the arrival of the Vikings: 'Her on bysum geare com micel sciphre hider ofer suþan of Lidwiccum.'<sup>55</sup> The term *Lidwicce*, 'Bretons', is a borrowing of Old Welsh *Litewic*. The term *Lidwicium* also appears at 885A (886B and C, with minor orthographic differences).

The fourth possible Welsh name is a part of that used for the island Flatholm, *Bradán Relice*. Although *bradan* is simply Old English for 'broad' or 'flat', *relice* is hard to explain in Old English terms. According to Caradog of Llancarfan's mid-

<sup>52</sup> Bede, *HE*, II, 14, and for the *Tribal Hidage*, see David N. Dumville, 'The Tribal Hidage: An Introduction to its Texts and their History', in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. by Stephen Bassett (London, 1989), pp. 225–30.

<sup>53</sup> M. Förster, 'Keltisches Wortgut im Englischen', in *Texte und Forschungen zur englischen Kulturgeschichte, Festgabe für Felix Liebermann*, ed. by M. Förster and K. Wildhagen (Halle, 1921), pp. 119–242; Jackson, *Language and History*, pp. 480–94.

<sup>54</sup> Jackson, *Language and History*, p. 492.

<sup>55</sup> 914A: 'Here in this year a great fleet came hither out of the South from among the *Lidwicce*.'

twelfth-century *Vita Gildae* this island was called *Ronech* in Welsh.<sup>56</sup> So far as I am aware this name is known only from this single reference and it may be that it represents a related form to *Relice*. What Jackson did not consider was that the annalist may actually have had some knowledge, albeit imperfect, of written Welsh.

A familiarity with written Welsh might also explain the use at 875A (876BC) and 920A of *Strædedwalas*. It should be noted that the prosthetic vowel /y/ in modern Welsh *ystrad* was not indicated in the Old Welsh period. In Welsh sources *ystrad* written *istrat* or *estrath* first appears alongside the more conservative form *strat* in the *Book of Llandaf*, compiled between 1119 and 1134. The form *estra*[t]h appears in David I of Scotland's charter granting Annandale, *Estrahanent*, to Robert de Brus from c. 1124, and may thus be the earliest example of the prosthetic /y/ in this word. Morris Jones believed, on the basis of this evidence, that prosthetic /y/ was not present before this period.<sup>57</sup> The simultaneous appearance of the prosthetic /y/ in Dumfriesshire and Glamorgan should, however, immediately raise our suspicions. While an innovation might emerge at precisely the same moment in two non-contiguous territories the likelihood is against it, particularly as, by the early twelfth century, British may no longer have been spoken in Annandale. It is more likely that what we are observing here is the phenomenon of scribes, trained outwith the Cambro-Latin tradition, writing what they are hearing. Jackson has pointed to a single earlier instance of prosthetic /y/ of which Morris Jones seems not to have been aware.<sup>58</sup> This appears as a feature of the word *istlinnit* in the ninth-century Juvencus Manuscript which also contains glosses and additional material from the late ninth and early tenth centuries.<sup>59</sup> Helen McKee has argued that this manuscript began its life in south-east Wales, possibly at a centre such as Llanilltud Fawr or Llancarfan.<sup>60</sup> She further points to the fact that the author of

<sup>56</sup> Caradog of Llancarfan, *Vita Gildae*, in *Two Lives of Gildas*, ed. by Hugh Williams (London, 1899; repr. Felinfach, 1990), pp. 96–97.

<sup>57</sup> J. Morris Jones, *A Welsh Grammar: Phonology and Accidence* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 26 and 49. For the Annandale charter, see *The Charters of David I*, ed. by G. W. S. Barrow (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 61–62.

<sup>58</sup> Jackson, *Language and History*, pp. 527–28.

<sup>59</sup> Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff.4.42 (1285), now published as *The Cambridge Juvencus Manuscript Glossed in Latin, Old Welsh and Old Irish*, ed. by Helen McKee, 2 vols (Aberystwyth, 2000). *Istlinnit* appears at fol. 3<sup>v</sup>, line 23 and is in the hand of Scribe B which McKee dates to the later ninth century.

<sup>60</sup> Helen McKee, 'Scribes and Glosses from Dark Age Wales: The Cambridge Juvencus Manuscript', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 39 (2000), 1–22 (p. 22).

a Latin cryptogram in the manuscript, which she believes is original to it, identifies himself as *Cemelliauc prudens prespiter* [*sic*] (Cyfeillio, prudent priest). Bearing in mind the geographical and chronological proximity, together with the rareness of the name, she suggests that this scribe may be the same man, at an earlier stage in his career, as the bishop whose capture by Vikings was noted at 914A.<sup>61</sup> If Jackson is correct in his assumption that the presence of the prosthetic /y/, 'i', in *istlinnit* in Juvenius reflects the spoken usage of the ninth century, then it makes it more likely that the absence of the prosthetic /y/ from the Old English *Stræledwalas* indicates that the term *Stræled* derives, ultimately, from a written source.

It would be going too far to suggest that the chronicler (or chroniclers) responsible for these annals was (or were) Welsh, or even that he (or they) had a particular interest in Welsh affairs; there is far too much left unsaid for that. Nonetheless the proposition might hold good that he (or they) were working in a house (or houses) which had established connections with south Wales and were in possession, perhaps, of Cambro-Latin books and familiar with Welsh ecclesiastics. Such circumstances may have contributed in part to the Chronicle's perception of the world beyond Wessex. The presence of Asser of Mynyw at Alfred's court indicates that intellectual exchange between south Wales and Wessex could happen in this period, and the transfer of the early ninth-century Cambro-Latin codex known as 'St Dunstan's Classbook' to Glastonbury, by the early tenth century at the latest, is further evidence of such exchange.<sup>62</sup>

In conclusion, this study of the reporting of 'Scottish' affairs in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, limited as it has been to the Southern Recension, has shed new light upon the transformation of the kingdom of Wessex, with interests and experiences focused in the south-west of the island of Britain, into an English kingdom. The reign of Alfred and much of that of his son Edward, before the annexation of Danish territory began c. 917, saw the development of a southern hegemony that had little interest or influence in the North Sea world and which incorporated Welsh polities, in Asser's words, 'sicut Æthered cum Mercii' (in like manner to Æthelred with the Mercians).<sup>63</sup> This relationship with the Britons, which has in the past been underplayed, is particularly interesting. The annexation of the Danish kingdoms, and indeed of English Mercia, which began in Edward's later

<sup>61</sup> McKee, 'Scribes and Glosses', p. 21.

<sup>62</sup> For Asser, see Keynes and Lapidge, pp. 48–58. For the codex, see *St Dunstan's Classbook from Glastonbury: Codex Biblioth. Bodleianae Oxon. Auct. F. 4.32*, ed. by R. W. Hunt, facsimile edn (Amsterdam, 1961).

<sup>63</sup> Asser, Chapter 80.

years and was continued by his sons, transformed the nature of this hegemony. It became more inclusive, with regard to its English components, and more eastward looking, at the expense of its relations with the Britons. This aspect of the formation of English identity has perhaps been underplayed in the past. Our views of early English history tend to be polarized between the age of Bede, when Britons and Saxons were divided by religion (the pagan-Christian dichotomy being replaced by the Paschal controversy), and the age of West Saxon hegemony, when Englishness was consciously cultivated to legitimize political ambitions. Anglo-British relations between the later eighth and the early tenth century may have been more complex, particularly in ecclesiastical and scholarly affairs. To some extent this situation may be reflected in the interests and vocabulary of the Chronicle.

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Part III

The Language of the Chronicle



# COINS AND THE CHRONICLE: MINT-SIGNATURES, HISTORY, AND LANGUAGE

Jayne Carroll

## *Introduction*

Mint-signatures — the place-names recorded as minting-places on coins — are not an obvious body of material for comparison with the texts comprising the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and some explanation of their value is therefore necessary.<sup>1</sup> The earliest mint-signatures date to the seventh century, when gold coins of Eadbald, king of Kent (616–40), bore Latinized forms of Canterbury and London.<sup>2</sup> During the eighth and ninth centuries, these cities, and also Rochester, were periodically named on coins.<sup>3</sup> Mint-signatures become more common in the reign of Alfred, with Canterbury, Exeter, Gloucester, London, Oxford, and Winchester named, but the signatures do not appear consistently until the late tenth century. In Edward the Elder's reign, only one mint (Bath) is

<sup>1</sup> See further Jayne Carroll and David N. Parsons, *Anglo-Saxon Mint-Names*, vol. 1: *Axbridge to Hythe* (Nottingham, 2007).

<sup>2</sup> J. J. North, *English Hammered Coinage*, vol. 1: *Early Anglo-Saxon to Henry III, c.600–1272* (London, 1994), p. 20; Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds, <<http://www-cm.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc>> [accessed 11 September 2006] (henceforth EMC), number 2001.1003.

<sup>3</sup> Some coins of the 'secondary phase' of silver sceattas (c. 710–50?) are inscribed (D)E LUNDONIA. Recently, a gold mancus of Coenwulf of Mercia inscribed DE VICO LVNDONIAE (minted 810–21) turned up in Bedfordshire (EMC number 2004.0167). Coins of Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury (805–32), are inscribed DOROVERNIAE CIVITAS, and variations thereof. Rochester's Latin name, *Dorobrebia*, first appears on Ceolwulf I of Merca (821–23). See North, *English Hammered Coinage*, pp. 20–29.

signed, but in Athelstan's reign there are thirty-four signed mints.<sup>4</sup> There is again a dip in mint-signing in the reigns of Edmund, Eadred, and Eadwig,<sup>5</sup> before it became widespread practice after Edgar's reform of the coinage *c.* 972/73.<sup>6</sup> All in all, around ninety securely attributed place-names are preserved as mint-signatures on pre-Conquest coins.

The value of place-names for matters historical, archaeological, and linguistic has long been recognized.<sup>7</sup> Their study starts with consideration of the earliest recorded instances of the names in an attempt to trace their etymologies and to get back to what they originally meant when they functioned as descriptive labels. We can then, with due care, mine these descriptions for information pertaining to settlement and ownership, land division and administration, agricultural and other land use, topography, and the flora and fauna of England's past. The vast majority of English place-names were coined in Old English in the Anglo-Saxon period, and therefore names actually recorded within this period are more likely to offer up their meanings to us when we examine them. In the case of pre-English names, records from the earliest period of English are at least chronologically closer to the time of coining, and potentially also linguistically closer, as they have been less subject to the inevitable linguistic change that comes with the passing of time. For the places that hosted mints in the Anglo-Saxon period the coins provide us with such early evidence. On the coins, we have secure pre-Conquest spellings of names, albeit sometimes in abbreviated forms, and sometimes alarmingly scrambled.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Not all of these are securely attributed. See North, *English Hammered Coinage*, pp. 132–37.

<sup>5</sup> Edmund's coins name Chester, Derby, Norwich, Wallingford, and York. Eadred's name Canterbury, Lincoln, Norwich, and Oxford; Eadwig's name Bath, Bedford, 'Hamton' (North- or Southampton), Hertford, ?Huntingdon, Newport (?Pagnell), Oxford, ?Wallingford, and Winchester.

<sup>6</sup> Edgar's reform instituted regular periodic currency change, with the king taking profits at each change, and standardization of the silver penny, which henceforth bore the name of both mint and moneyer on its reverse. Edgar's pre-reform coinage names around thirty minting-places; there are more than forty named on post-reform issues.

<sup>7</sup> General introductions to the study of place-names are to be found in Kenneth Cameron, *English Place-Names*, new edn (London, 1996), and Margaret Gelling, *Signposts to the Past*, 2nd edn (Chichester, 1988).

<sup>8</sup> Fran Colman gives an overview of the value of, and problems posed by, coin-legends for the historical linguist in the first chapter of *Money Talks: Reconstructing Old English* (Berlin, 1992), pp. 3–20.

Evidence of minting activity is one of the diagnostic attributes of a 'town',<sup>9</sup> and of a 'fully formed borough'.<sup>10</sup> Mints were, in general, likely to be found in more major settlements — relatively important places. We might expect that such places would be mentioned in documentary texts such as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the collection of surviving Anglo-Saxon charters. We might also expect that the coins would provide us with complementary evidence rather than existing as the sole evidence for these names at this early period. For most of the minting-places, this is indeed the case, but there are between eleven and thirteen place-names recorded on Anglo-Saxon coins that are not found in any other pre-Conquest source.<sup>11</sup> These names are otherwise recorded later, in some cases very much later: the most extreme example is that of Cissbury in Sussex, the site of an Iron Age hilltop fort. For this place-name, the coin spellings predate the documentary forms by over five hundred years.

So, the mint-signatures are early — sometimes the earliest — evidence for names, and therefore likely to be valuable from a linguistic point of view as a signpost on the way to the name's etymology. Not only are they early evidence, however, but also closely datable evidence. Because of the policy of periodic recoinage whereby new issues — now sequenced by numismatists — were produced at intervals, we can pin a coin down not only to regnal dates but very often to within a certain period of a reign, sometimes as short a period as a year.<sup>12</sup> It is extremely unusual to have such closely datable linguistic evidence. Very few early medieval documents can be dated so precisely and so securely.<sup>13</sup>

Given these facts, it is easy to see why the mint-signatures are a valuable resource not only for the historical linguist, but also for the historian and the

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Stenton, *ASE*, pp. 527–28.

<sup>10</sup> H. Loyn, 'Progress in Anglo-Saxon Monetary History', in *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History*, ed. by Mark A. S. Blackburn (Leicester, 1986), pp. 1–11 (p. 6).

<sup>11</sup> Eleven are securely attributed: Bruton (Somerset), Caistor (Lincs.), Cissbury (Sussex), Horn-castle (Lincs.), Horndon on the Hill (Essex), Hythe (Kent), Ilchester (Somerset), Launceston (Cornwall), Melton Mowbray (Leics.), Newark (Notts.), and (South) Petherton (Somerset). The Newport mint is probably Newport Pagnell, and the signature would be the first recorded instance of this place-name. The signatures thought to denote Droitwich (Worcs.) would also be the earliest recorded instances of this name, but they are less securely attributed.

<sup>12</sup> For example, two of Æthelred II's issues are datable to a single year: the Benediction Hand is datable to c. 991, and the Agnus Dei to c. 1009.

<sup>13</sup> This has been recognized in the work done on moneyers' names (see particularly Colman, *Money Talks*), but the mint-signatures have not hitherto been subject to systematic investigation.

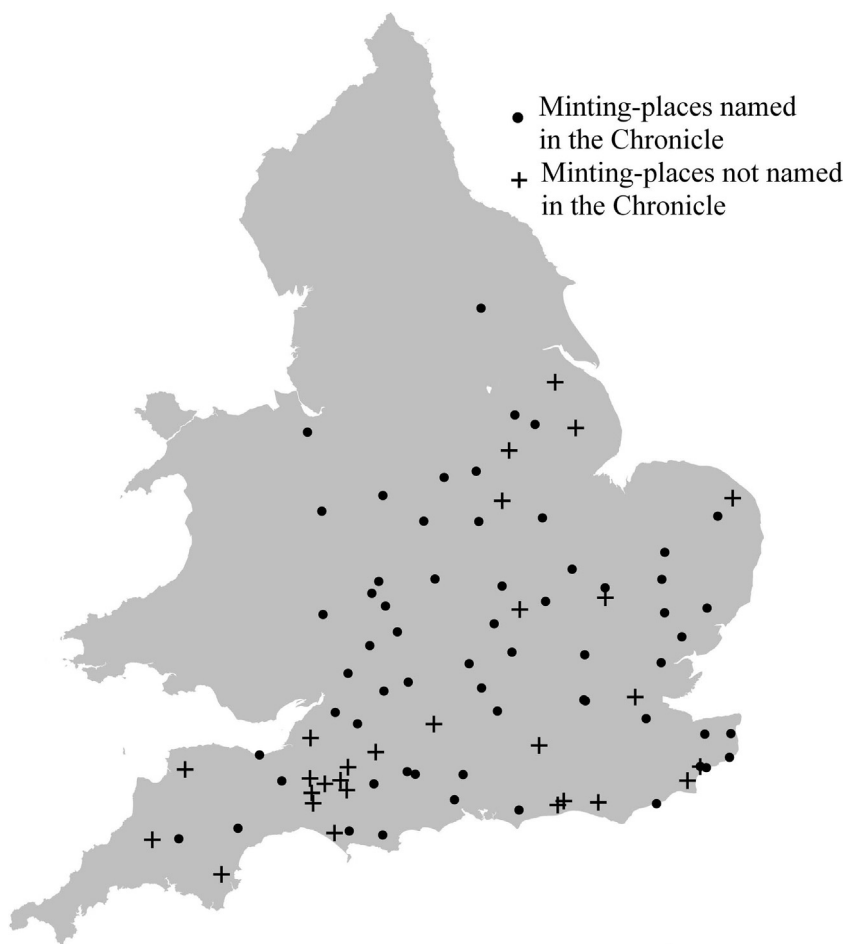
archaeologist: mint-signed coins provide closely datable and locatable evidence of an activity which formed an important part of life in this period. A more precise question can be posed: what can we learn from considering the mint-signatures in the light of the Chronicle, and vice versa? Place-names in themselves have the potential to throw light on a variety of Chronicle-related issues. They may, for example, contribute to discussions of its textual history. To give an example, in manuscripts D and E under annals 762 and 779, and in E under annal 685, York is referred to simply as *Ceaster*, rather than *Eoforwic* or *Eoforwicceaster*. The familiar name may support the argument for York as a place of compilation at some point in the Chronicle manuscripts' textual history.<sup>14</sup> In what follows, however, I do not take the winding route of textual history, but instead show how coins can offer an alternative perspective on the late Anglo-Saxon period, both from the point of view of history and from that of language.

### *Coins, the Chronicle, and History*

There are few students of Anglo-Saxon history who are not aware of the partial nature of the Chronicle's account of pre-Conquest England, particularly in terms of its geographical coverage, but a glance at the number of mints which are not mentioned as places in any of the Chronicle manuscripts is a salutary reminder. Of eighty-eight signatures attributed to known places, twenty-eight are not mentioned in the Chronicle (Map 2). Many of these places are situated at the heart of historical Wessex and could not be considered far-flung or remote. A comparison of the productivity of minting-places mentioned in the Chronicle with those that are not suggests that the latter were in general less productive (see the Appendix). Some of these functioned as minting-places for a very short period. Some were not permanent settlements at this time: the Iron Age hilltop forts at (South) Cadbury in Somerset and Cissbury in Sussex functioned primarily as 'emergency' mints during the troubled reign of Æthelred II (see further below).<sup>15</sup> However, others were productive through several reigns, minting a good number of different issues. Barnstaple, Ilchester, Lewes, and Romney are notable examples. Such omissions

<sup>14</sup> See Cubbin, *MS D*, p. lviii.

<sup>15</sup> See R. H. M. Dolley, 'Three Late Anglo-Saxon Notes: A New Anglo-Saxon Mint; A Probably New Mint in Shropshire; The Emergency Mint of Cadbury', *BNJ*, 28 (1956), 88–105; and R. H. M. Dolley and F. Elmore Jones, 'The Mints "Æt Gothabyrig" and "Æt Sith(m)estebyrig"', *BNJ*, 28 (1957), 279–82.



Map 2. Anglo-Saxon England's minting-places. Map by Jayne Carroll.

prove an effective reminder of the places that time, in the form of its enumeration in annals, might have forgotten. It reminds us that in reading the Chronicle account of Anglo-Saxon history, we are not only skipping over the history of the powerless, but also that of centres of some economic importance and administrative significance.

The mint-signatures tell their own story, and it is a slightly different one from that in the Chronicle. Nowhere is this clearer than in the Cissbury signatures. The compound place-name Cissbury lacks documentary record until the late sixteenth century: in the 'Armada Survey' of the Sussex coast (1587) it appears as *Sieberie hill*, and then on Speed's map of Sussex (1610) as *Sissabury*. There are two possible earlier documentary references to the hill-fort. The bounds of *Derantune*, probably Durrington in Sussex, in S 425, a contemporary charter of 934, include *(on) pis berb*.<sup>16</sup> A number of scholars have suggested that this refers to Cissbury Ring,<sup>17</sup> although it is extremely difficult to connect the first element *pis-* to that of the later name: it is best to consider it as an earlier, unrelated specific.<sup>18</sup> The second possible reference is in a charter of 1477,<sup>19</sup> which relates to the division of tithes in Findon parish between Sele priory and the rector of Findon. Amongst the place-names listed is 'the old *byry*', long thought to be the hill-fort at Cissbury.<sup>20</sup> This identification has been challenged by T. P. Hudson, but it persists in place-name literature.<sup>21</sup>

Neither of these two possible references provides an earlier form of the first element of the modern place-name, and the late appearance of the element led scholars to believe that it was 'a [sixteenth-century] antiquarian invention, coined in order to associate the prominent Iron Age hill-fort with Cissa, the third son of Aelle who, according to the Chronicle, led the Anglo-Saxon invasion of what was to become Sussex in the year 477':<sup>22</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Eric E. Barker, 'Sussex Anglo-Saxon Charters', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 87 (1948), 112–63 (p. 150); *Charters of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. by N. P. Brooks and S. E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters (Oxford, forthcoming), no. 106.

<sup>17</sup> J. K. Wallenberg, *Kentish Place-Names* (Uppsala, 1931), p. 240; Barker, 'Sussex Anglo-Saxon Charters', p. 158, n. 12; Peter Kitson, *A Guide to Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries* (forthcoming), Sussex, 9 (S 425 (i)); *Charters of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. by Brooks and Kelly, no. 106, n. 12.

<sup>18</sup> Two philologically appropriate elements have been proposed: Barker suggested OE *pise* 'pea' (see A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols, English Place-Name Society, 25 and 26 (Cambridge, 1956), s.v.); Wallenberg suggests that *pis* may be from *piss* 'to make water', and that there may have been a stream in the valley below the fort. No trace of this stream remains, though, and *piss*, from French, is unattested in English before c. 1300 (see *OED*, s.v. *piss* v.).

<sup>19</sup> *The Chartulary of the Priory of St Peter at Sele*, ed. by L. F. Salzman (Cambridge, 1923), no. 160.

<sup>20</sup> A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Sussex*, Part I (Cambridge, 1929), pp. 197–98; Victor Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Cambridge, 2004), s.v. Cissbury Ring.

<sup>21</sup> T. P. Hudson, 'The Place-name Cissbury', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 120 (1982), 231.

<sup>22</sup> Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, s.v. Cissbury Ring. See also Mawer and Stenton, *Place-Names of Sussex*, Part I, pp. 197–98.

Her c[u]om Ælle on Bretenlond 7 his .iii. suna, Cymen 7 Wlencing 7 Cissa, mid .iii. scipum  
on þa stowe þe is nemned Cymenesora, 7 þær ofslogon monige Wealas 7 sume on fleame  
bedrifon on þone wudu þe is genemned Andredesleage.<sup>23</sup>

The association with Cissa is indeed spurious, but the mint-signatures prove that the first element is not a post-medieval invention. They tell a different story, and possibly a rather more exciting one.

The coin forms (SIDESTEB; SIÐ; SIÐESEB; SIÐMES (all 1009x17) SIÐE (1009x23)) point to a first element OE *sið(m)est* 'last, latest', a superlative adjective.<sup>24</sup> This in itself makes Cissbury remarkable, as no other place-name contains the adjective *sið*, and very few contain superlatives. As early as 1957, M. R. H. Dolley and F. Elmore Jones proposed that this referred to the particular historical situation of the emergency mint, that the hilltop fort, Cissbury Camp, was a place of last resort, a refuge for moneyers, and that this is reflected in its English name.<sup>25</sup> The Chronicle tells us that 1009 was a bad year (from the point of view of the Anglo-Saxons) for Viking activity in Sussex. Manuscript C reports that they 'æghwær on Suðsexum 7 on Hamtunscire, 7 eac on Bearrocsire heregodon 7 bærndon swa hiora gewuna is'.<sup>26</sup> It would therefore not be surprising if the inhabitants of Sussex felt the need for a relatively secure and easily defended site for activities which might attract unwanted Scandinavian attention — as those involving quantities of silver surely would.

The situation is paralleled in Somerset. From c. 1009, the hilltop fort at South Cadbury was used in a comparable way: it harboured moneyers until some time between c. 1017 and 1020, when it ceased operating as a minting-place, presumably

<sup>23</sup> Bately, *MSA*, p. 19. 'In this year Ælle and his three sons, Cymen, Wlencing, and Cissa came to Britain with three ships, to the place which is called Cymenesora, and killed many Britons there, and drove some to flight into the wood which is called Andredesleage [the Weald].'

<sup>24</sup> The forms with and without medial *m* are paralleled in Old English texts: Bosworth Toller, *s.v. siþ*. It is perhaps possible that the first element of the Old English name is a corruption of some earlier pre-English fort-name. Nevertheless, the forms are clear enough to be relatively certain that the Anglo-Saxons understood the name to contain *sið(m)est*, and that this made some kind of sense to them.

<sup>25</sup> Dolley and Elmore Jones, 'Mints "Æt Gothabyrig" and "Æt Sith(m)estebyrig"'. The coin material has not, hitherto, found its way into mainstream place-name scholarship (e.g. Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*), although it was taken into account in Richard Coates, 'Studies and Observations on Sussex Place-Names', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 118 (1980), 309–29 (p. 315).

<sup>26</sup> O'Brien O'Keeffe, *MSC*, p. 93; 'harried and burned everywhere in Sussex and in Hampshire, and also in Berkshire, just as is their custom'.

because its lack of easily accessible resources rendered it impracticable when, in Cnut's reign, its defences were no longer needed. The evidence for Cadbury's functioning specifically as a refuge mint is stronger than that for Cissbury: the names of moneyers from Bruton, Crewkerne, and Ilchester appear on Cadbury-signed coins from this period,<sup>27</sup> and the coin record suggests a hiatus in minting for these three places in the middle of Æthelred's reign.<sup>28</sup> We do not have such evidence for Cissbury: the Sussex mints of Hastings, Lewes, and Chichester continued to produce coins during Cissbury's period of minting.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, the inhabitation of a hill-fort for the purposes of minting, during some of the most unsettled years of the early eleventh century, seems likely to have been inspired by that harrying. The moneyers from Hastings, Lewes, and Chichester did not, in the end, have to abandon their town mints, but perhaps the option was available to them in the form of Cissbury, the 'last stronghold'. The place-name suggests a kind of mini-narrative, with *sið(m)est* implying temporal succession, a before and an after, even if the after is rather bleak, and it is a narrative on which the Chronicle does not touch. The name hints at the effects of the reported raiding in terms of its impact upon the non-military men of Anglo-Saxon England: a gap in the Chronicle's account is filled.

There is a pleasing circularity at work in the two interpretations of this name. Returning for a moment to the antiquarian derivation of Cissbury from Ælle's son Cissa, we can see that the Chronicle text, with its account of fifth-century conquest, fills in an unexplained gap in the understanding of the name Cissbury for those sixteenth-century antiquarians.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, the mint-signatures, with their mini-narrative of retreat and refuge, also fill in a gap, but this time in the

<sup>27</sup> R. H. M. Dolley, 'Three West Country Notes: The Coinage of Milborne Port; The Identity of the Mint of "LA(N)G"; An Unpublished Cnut Moneyer of Lydford', *BNJ*, 22 (1958–59), 61–68 (p. 64).

<sup>28</sup> There are no extant coins from Bruton and Crewkerne for the period *c.* 1003–*c.* 1017, and none for Ilchester between *c.* 1009 and *c.* 1017.

<sup>29</sup> It is possible that Steyning's mint was established (by *c.* 1023) as a result of Cissbury's closing, but there is no evidence that Cissbury's moneyers relocated.

<sup>30</sup> It is possible that we have a somewhat similar situation with Chichester. There are two suggested derivations for the first element of this name: again, the personal name Cissa; and also *\*cisse* 'a gravelly feature', first proposed by John Dodgson. The form of the place-name and the location of the town have 'attracted' an association with the famous Cissa. See John McN. Dodgson, 'A Linguistic Analysis of the Place-Names of the Burghal Hidage', in *The Defence of Wessex: The Burghal Hidage and Anglo-Saxon Fortifications*, ed. by David Hill and Alexander R. Rumble (Manchester, 1996), pp. 98–122 (p. 102).

Chronicle's account of England's struggle against the Scandinavians. The two etymologies, one apparently genuine, one a folk-etymology, complement each other, in that they both function as missing jigsaw pieces for different audiences trying to make sense of the past.

Cissbury is an extraordinary example, and there are more straightforward instances where the signatures and the Chronicle complement each other, where entries in the Chronicle may help to throw light on the establishment or activities of mint-places and vice versa. Chester provides one such example. Coins bearing the Chester signature appear from Athelstan's reign, but the moneyers who put their names to these coins are minting earlier than this: their names are found on coins without mint-signatures as early as 910, in the middle of Edward the Elder's reign.<sup>31</sup> It is reasonable to surmise from this that Chester's history of minting extends back beyond that of its mint-signatures. In fact, it has been suggested that Chester functioned as a mint-town even as early as the middle of Alfred's reign: there was a mint somewhere in north-west Mercia producing coins from the late 870s, and it may have been Chester, which was certainly active not long after this.<sup>32</sup> However, given what the Chronicle tells us about Chester, this may not seem especially likely. Under the year 893, when the Danes briefly occupied the city, the Chronicle describes Chester as 'anre westre ceastre on Wirhealum seo is Legaceaster gehaten'.<sup>33</sup> Under the year 907 the Mercian Register, preserved in manuscripts B and C, records Æthelflæd's refortification of Chester and founding of the *burh*, with the brief entry 'Her wæs Ligceaster geedneowad'.<sup>34</sup> It is perhaps reasonable to assume that Chester may only have operated a mint or mints from the time of this refortification; a mint may even have relocated from another town in north-west Mercia shortly after the refortification.<sup>35</sup>

Staying with Æthelflæd and the Mercian Register account of her programme of (re)fortification, we can turn to *Weardburh*, built in 915, an unidentified *burh* of interest to Chronicle scholars and numismatists alike. The Mercian Register's annal for this year runs thus: 'þa ðæs oþre gear e on ufan midne winter þa æt

<sup>31</sup> Mark A. S. Blackburn, 'Mints, Burhs, and the Grately Code, cap. 14.2', in *Defence of Wessex*, ed. by Hill and Rumble, pp. 160–75 (p. 164).

<sup>32</sup> Blackburn, 'Mints, Burhs, and the Grately Code', p. 163.

<sup>33</sup> Batley, *MS A*, p. 58; 'a deserted city in Wirral which is called *Legaceaster*'.

<sup>34</sup> Taylor, *MS B*, p. 49; 'In this year Chester was rebuilt.'

<sup>35</sup> Tamworth has been suggested as a possible place: David Griffiths, 'The North-West Frontier', in Higham and Hill, pp. 167–87 (p. 170).

Cyricbyrig, 7 þa æt Weardbyrig, 7 ðy ilcan gere foran to middan wintra þa æt Rumcofan'.<sup>36</sup> Æthelflæd issued a charter from *Weardburg* in 916,<sup>37</sup> and the place is also named on four surviving coins, two of Athelstan and two of Edgar. The name means 'lookout fort' or possibly 'defensive fort',<sup>38</sup> and it has been identified with a number of places: Warborough in Oxfordshire has been suggested,<sup>39</sup> as has Warburton in Cheshire.<sup>40</sup> The early spellings of both of these place-names, however, point to etymologies which are different from that suggested by the form *Weardburh*. The second element of Warborough is *beorg* '(rounded) hill, mound' not *burh*;<sup>41</sup> the *Warbur-* in Warburton appears to be the feminine personal name *Wærburg*.<sup>42</sup> Most recently, Richard Coates has proposed Gwespyr in Flintshire, a Domesday manor, as a possible location on a number of grounds.<sup>43</sup> Gwespyr most likely would have fallen within the westernmost bounds of English power at this time, and it is situated in a topographically and strategically appropriate place to have deserved the name *Weardburh*. More specifically, Gwespyr is a 'Welshified form of O[ld] E[nglish] \**Westburh*':<sup>44</sup> Coates argues that *Weardburh* was renamed *Westburh* before 1086 for reasons 'not entirely clear' but reflecting its status as 'the

<sup>36</sup> O'Brien O'Keeffe, *MS C*, p. 75; 'Then in this the next year after mid-winter [the stronghold was built] at Chirbury [Shropshire], then at *Weardbyrig*, and then the same year before mid-winter at Runcorn [Cheshire].'

<sup>37</sup> S 225.

<sup>38</sup> The name comprises the elements *weard* 'watch, ward, protection', and *burh* 'stronghold'. See Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, and David N. Parsons and Tania Styles, *Vocabulary of English Place-Names: Brace-Cæster* (Nottingham, 2000), *s.v.* For the suggestion that *weard* was particularly associated with beacon-sites, see David Hill and Sheila Sharp, 'An Anglo-Saxon Beacon System', in *Names, Places and People: An Onomastic Miscellany in Memory of John McNeal Dodgson*, ed. by Alexander R. Rumble and A. D. Mills (Stamford, 1987), pp. 157–65.

<sup>39</sup> John McN. Dodgson, 'The Background of Brunanburh', *Saga-Book*, 14 (1953–57), 303–16 (p. 313): 'there is no place-name evidence to suggest an identification with Warburton in N. Cheshire, though such a location would be attractive'. This was the preferred attribution of numismatists before the mid-twentieth century: see the references in F. Elmore Jones and C. E. Blunt, 'The Tenth-Century Mint "Æt Weardbyrig"', *BNJ*, 28 (1955–57), 494–98, nn. 1–3.

<sup>40</sup> John McN. Dodgson suggests a possible connection in *The Place-Names of Cheshire: Part II* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 34.

<sup>41</sup> Margaret Gelling, *The Place-Names of Oxfordshire: Part I* (Cambridge, 1971), p. 138.

<sup>42</sup> Dodgson, *Place-Names of Cheshire*, p. 35.

<sup>43</sup> Richard Coates, 'Æthelflæd's Fortification of \**Weardburh*', *N&Q*, n.s., 45 (1998), 8–12.

<sup>44</sup> Coates, 'Æthelflæd's Fortification of \**Weardburh*', p. 9; the name-spellings are listed in B. G. Charles, *Non-Celtic Place-Names in Wales* (London, 1938), p. 229.

westernmost *burh* in Mercia'.<sup>45</sup> He draws attention to the annal for the year 1053 in manuscript C of the Chronicle, in which it is reported that 'wylsce menn geslogon mycelne dæl engliscs folces ðæra weardmanna wið Wæstbyrig';<sup>46</sup> this (unidentified) *Wæstbyrig* functioned as a *weard*-place with *weardmenn*. Coates proposes that *Weardburh*, *Wæstbyrig*, and Gwespyr are one and the same.

None of the three suggested identifications makes full use of the *Weardburh* mint-signatures. The two Athelstan coins (927x39) read WEARDBV and WEARDI. The Edgar coins (959x75) read VRDBY and WRDBRECFT. The last signature is the most interesting because the final three graphs, CFT, appear to be an abbreviation for *civitas*. A number of minting-places were signed — usually in abbreviated form — as *civitates* in the tenth century:

**Table 7. Mint-signatures.**

<i>civitas</i> -place	Mint-signatures <sup>1</sup>
Bath	BATCIVITATE (927x39); BAÐACIFI; BAÐVCIFI (both 959x72)
Canterbury	DORCIVIT; DORCIVI; DORCI (all 927x39)
Chester	LEGCF; LEGCFI; LEGECF; LEGECFI; LEGECIF; LEGECIFTA; LEGICF; LEIECF; LEIGCF; LEIGECF (all 927x39)
Chichester	CISSANCIVI (927x39); CVSSANCIV (927x39); CISECIFITAS (959x72); CISECI (973x75)
Exeter	EAXANIECIV (927x39); EXANIECIV (927x39); EXACIFT (959x72)
Gloucester	GLEAWACI (927x39)
Leicester	LIECVI (927x39) <sup>2</sup>
Lincoln	LCOIAIIV; IINCOIA CIVIT (both 946x55)
London	LVNDCIVIT; LONDCI; LONDCIVI; LONDONICI; LVNDCIVITT (all 927x39); LONDONCIF; LONDCIFI; LONDCIFITA (all 959x72)
Rochester	DOROBREBIACIBI; ROFCIVIT (927x39)
Winchester	VVINCI; VVINCIVIT; VVINCIVITATIS (all 927x39)
York	EBORACA C (927x39) <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A selection of *civitas*-signatures from the tenth century, excluding Viking issues.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest Leicester signature is a Viking issue from c. 890, and labels it as *civitas*: LICIRACIVI.

<sup>3</sup> The earliest York signatures are found on Viking issues: the coinage of Sigferth and Cnut, and the St Peter pennies all label York as *civitas*.

<sup>45</sup> Coates, 'Æthelflæd's Fortification of \**Weardburh*', p. 11. He suggests that *Weardburh*'s lookout function may have been taken over by Rhudlann, fortified in 921 (*Cledemutha*, s.a. 921C), leading to the change of name; he also suggests that the name may have connoted a 'fort established in expectation of trouble from the west, that is, usually from the Welsh'.

<sup>46</sup> O'Brien O'Keefe, *MS C*, p. 115; 'the Welshmen killed a great part of the English folk of the guard near *Wæstbyrig*'.

Each of the *civitas*-places is a Roman walled town, which suggests that *Weardburh*, too, is likely also to be a Roman walled town. None of the three suggested places is such a town. This final signature suggests that in our search for *Weardburh*, we are looking not only for a place of strategic importance in western Mercia, but also a place with a significant Roman past.

The two other places that were, according to the Mercian Register, (re)fortified by Æthelflæd in 915 are situated at the westernmost limits of Mercia: Chirbury 'commanded the easiest road from Shrewsbury into central Wales',<sup>47</sup> and Runcorn is situated on the Mersey with the *burh* 'forming a significant point of control and visibility on the river course'.<sup>48</sup> It is perhaps logical to ponder the possibility that *Weardburh* was also situated at the westernmost limits.<sup>49</sup> The situation of the Roman fort of *Mediolanum*, present-day Whitchurch,<sup>50</sup> roughly halfway between Chirbury and Runcorn on the Shropshire-Wales border, invites consideration. Whitchurch is not sited upon a hill; rather, the village sits on the Shropshire plain. However, it is sited in a position which might well need defence from the west as a place of incursion: it could have been a 'defensive' *burh* rather than a 'lookout' *burh*. An adjacent name in the parish in Whitchurch, Broughall, appears to contain the elements *burh* and *halh* 'nook or corner of land'<sup>51</sup> giving a sense 'nook by a *burh*'. No evidence of a fortified *burh* has turned up, but neither are there any indications to suggest that another sense of *burh* might be more appropriate.<sup>52</sup> There is no definitive evidence to suggest that Whitchurch can confidently be identified with *Weardburh*, but the suggestion at least attempts to marshal the range of available evidence, including that of the mint-signatures.

<sup>47</sup> Stenton, *ASE*, p. 326.

<sup>48</sup> David Griffiths, 'The North-West *Burhs* – a Reappraisal', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 8 (1995), 75–86 (p. 82).

<sup>49</sup> As Coates argued in suggesting that *Weardburh* may be identified with Gwespyr, Flintshire. See above.

<sup>50</sup> The name Whitchurch is post-Conquest, first recorded c. 1200. The earliest form is French: *Blancmustier*, c. 1200. The vernacular form is found from the late thirteenth century (*Whytchyrche* 1271x72). Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, s.v. Whitchurch. Domesday Book records an earlier name, *Westune* 'the west settlement'.

<sup>51</sup> There is a range of established meanings for *halh*. Margaret Gelling suggests that there are two which are appropriate to Broughall: '[the] settlement is in a slight hollow, the most frequent sense, but this is an area where "raised ground in marsh" is also possible': *The Place-Names of Shropshire: Part 5* (Nottingham, 2006), s.v. *Broughall*.

<sup>52</sup> Gelling, *Place-Names of Shropshire: Part 5*, s.v. *Broughall*: 'the M[iddle] E[nglish] sense "borough" is not obviously suitable'.

Where one *civitas*-signature may prove to be an important clue in identifying a likely site for one of Æthelflæd's fortifications, a second may be used to locate more precisely a *burh* which she recovered from the Vikings in 917:

Her Æþelflæd Myrcna hlæfdige Gode fultumgendum foran to Hlæfmæssan be gear þa burh mid eallum þam ðe þærto hyrde þe ys haten Deoraby. Þær wæron eac ofslegene hyre þegna feower ðe hire besorge wæron binnan þam gatum.<sup>53</sup>

Derby moneyers may have begun minting almost immediately after this recovery: although the earliest mint-signed coins date from Athelstan's reign, one of Athelstan's Derby moneyers is already named on Edward the Elder's late coinage.<sup>54</sup> Two of the earliest Derby signatures read CTDEORABVI and CTDEORAIVI (both 927x39).<sup>55</sup> The initial CT could be a *civitas*-abbreviation, although its position preceding the place-name would be unusual. There is, however, little else that it could denote. The present-day town of Derby is not Roman in origin, but 'grew up at a river ford whose importance was the direct result of the decay of the Roman bridge at nearby Little Chester'.<sup>56</sup> Little Chester, upriver and on the opposite side of the Derwent to Derby, is the site of the Roman fort *Derventio*. The Mercian Register's comment that Æthelflæd's four thanes were killed 'binnan þam gatum' (within the gates) implies a fortified structure, and it has been suggested that the *burh* was sited at *Derventio* rather than the town of Derby: the fort's stone walls were still intact in the eighteenth century, and excavations have turned up evidence for 'structural changes to the south-east corner [which] could be interpreted as repairs carried out following the attack on, and expulsion of, those defending it'.<sup>57</sup> In such a context, a *civitas*-signature makes good sense — and supports the archaeological evidence — but what more might it tell us about the place-name itself?

<sup>53</sup> O'Brien O'Keeffe, *MS C*, p. 76. 'In this year before Lammas [1 August], Æthelflæd, lady of the Mercians, with God helping, won the *burh* which is called Derby, with all that belonged to it. Inside the gates, four of her thanes who were dear to her were killed.'

<sup>54</sup> S. Lyon, 'The Coinage of Edward the Elder', in Higham and Hill, pp. 67–78 (p. 72).

<sup>55</sup> A. S. Robertson, *Hunterian Museum Glasgow: Anglo-Saxon Coins*, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, 2 (Oxford, 1961), no. 623, and M. M. Archibald and C. E. Blunt, *British Museum, Anglo-Saxon Coins, part V: Athelstan to Edgar's Reform*, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, 34 (Oxford, 1986), no. 75.

<sup>56</sup> Pauline Stafford, *The East Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1985), p. 42.

<sup>57</sup> Pauline Beswick and Christopher Spary Green, 'Excavations on the South-Eastern Defences and Extramural Settlement of Little Chester, Derby, 1971–2', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 122 (2002), 1–328 (p. 143).

In form, the name Derby is Scandinavian in origin. It is remarkable for a number of reasons. We have very few place-names attested in pre-Conquest sources that are Scandinavian in origin, and Derby is one of them, mentioned in the Chronicle's annal for 942 (the poetic entry on Edmund's capture of the Five Boroughs of the Danelaw), put into manuscript A around the middle of the tenth century. It is the coins, however, which provide us with the earliest evidence for the name (927x39). This means that it is on coins that we find the very earliest recorded Scandinavian place-name in England.<sup>58</sup>

Even more remarkable is the fact that we have an earlier English name recorded for Derby: the late tenth-century Latin translation and refashioning of the Chronicle by Ealdorman Æthelweard records that, in 871, the body of Mercian ealdorman Æthelwulf, who was killed in battle against the Danes, was taken 'to the place called Northworthig, but in the Danish language Derby'.<sup>59</sup> Æthelweard's comments imply that *Deoraby* and *Norðwordīg* refer to one and the same place, and that at the time he was writing — the late tenth century — the English name was still known, even though it may not have been in common use. The name *Norðworthig* comprises Old English elements *norð* and *wordīg*: 'northern enclosure'. It is difficult to be certain from which site *Norðwordīg* is oriented north. Three have been suggested: the River Trent, Repton, and Tamworth.<sup>60</sup> On onomastic grounds at least, Tamworth (Old English *Tamouuorði(g)*, *Tomeworðig*, etc.) is perhaps the preferred option. Derby's position, slightly north-east of the ancient capital of Mercia (and therefore north to the Anglo-Saxons), suggests that the *wordīg*'s 'northernness' may be relative to this settlement.<sup>61</sup> The element *wordīg* is common in the south-west, but not in the midlands (where the 'expected' form is *word*): it

<sup>58</sup> Lesley Abrams and David N. Parsons, 'Place-Names and the History of Scandinavian Settlement in England', in *Land, Sea and Home: Proceedings of a Conference on Viking-Period Settlement, at Cardiff, July 2001*, ed. by John Hines and others, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series, 20 (Leeds, 2004), pp. 379–431 (p. 392, n. 72).

<sup>59</sup> Æthelweard, p. 37: 'in loco qui Northuuorthige nuncupatur, iuxta autem Danaam linguam Deoraby'. *Norðworþig* / *Norðweorðig*, said to be near the River Derwent, is also given as the burial site of St Ealhmund in a list of saints' resting places dating from the ninth century; David W. Rollason, 'List of Saints' Resting-Places in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE*, 7 (1978), 61–93 (p. 89).

<sup>60</sup> The River Trent by Kenneth Cameron, *The Place-Names of Derbyshire: Part II* (Cambridge, 1959), p. 446. Repton by D. Roffe, 'The Origins of Derbyshire', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 106 (1986), 102–22 (p. 111); and Beswick and Spary Green, 'Excavations', p. 143. Tamworth by W. F. H. Nicolaisen and others, *The Names of Towns and Cities in Britain* (London, 1970), s.v. Derby.

<sup>61</sup> Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, s.v. Derby.

has been suggested that the Old English forms of *Norðwordīg* and Tamworth are due to West Saxon influence — from Domesday Book on, forms of Tamworth are not found with *wordīg* spellings.<sup>62</sup> The fact that *Norðwordīg* shares an unusual generic with Tamworth may support the idea that *Norðwordīg* is named from its relation to the more southerly place.

We cannot know exactly when the name *Norðwordīg* fell out of use, but the coin forms tell us that the Scandinavian name was sufficiently established by Athelstan's reign to be used as the 'official' name of the place for the English administration: the moneyers, brought in from Chester, were not local men, and none of them bore a recognizable Scandinavian name, so there can be no sense that the name Derby, even as early as the 920s, was just a local name. Nor could it be argued that the English and Scandinavian names existed concurrently, used by the different speech communities.<sup>63</sup>

In the standard reference books, the name Derby is explained as *Djúrabý*, comprising Old Norse elements *djúr* 'deer' (in the genitive plural *djúra*) and *bý* 'farmstead or village' — 'farmstead or village where deer are kept'<sup>64</sup> — and nearby Darley (explained as 'deer wood or clearing') has been suggested as the source of the deer.<sup>65</sup> The compound *djúrabý* recurs in the British Isles, and is unlikely to have originated as a descriptive combination of two separate elements: Gillian Fellows-Jensen suggests that it referred to 'specialised production units that had earlier formed parts of old multiple estates'.<sup>66</sup> Despite the apparently straightforward etymology, it is likely that the East Midland place-name arose through a rather circuitous process. Derby is situated on the River Derwent: the river-name is British in origin, but its usual Old English form is *Deorwente*, with a diphthongized first vowel.<sup>67</sup> It

<sup>62</sup> Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, s.v. *weorðig*.

<sup>63</sup> As suggested by Matthew Townend, 'Viking Age England as a Bilingual Society', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards, Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 2 (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 89–105 (p. 99).

<sup>64</sup> Cameron, *Place-Names of Derbyshire: Part II*, p. 446; A. D. Mills, *A Dictionary of British Place-Names* (Oxford, 2003); Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*.

<sup>65</sup> Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, s.v. Derby; Nicolaisen and others, *Names of Towns and Cities*, p. 82.

<sup>66</sup> Gillian Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Influence on the Place-Names of England', in *Language Contact in the British Isles: Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium on Language Contact in Europe, Douglas, Isle of Man, 1988*, ed. by P. Sture Ureland and G. Broderick (Tübingen, 1991), pp. 337–54 (p. 347).

<sup>67</sup> Eilert Ekwall, *English River-Names* (Oxford, 1968), p. 121.

seems unlikely that there is no connection between the river-name and the place-name: the river-name must somehow have contributed to the Scandinavian renaming of *Norðwordig*, either directly, with the settlers hearing the river name, *Deorwente*, and associating the first element *deor* with the familiar compound *djúraby*, or indirectly, with them adapting the Romano-British transferred settlement name *Derventio*.<sup>68</sup> As there is evidence for sub-Roman occupation of *Derventio*, which furthermore is said to have been a focus for activity in the sixth century,<sup>69</sup> it is certainly possible that the Romano-British name continued in use to refer to the fortified area well into the Anglo-Saxon period.

The Derby mint-signatures, with their *civitas* abbreviations, may be read as offering support not only for the hypothesis that *Deoraby* originally referred specifically to the area of the Roman fort, but also that it is a Scandinavianization of a pre-existing name of British origin used by the Anglo-Saxons. If this is the case, then the anomalies of the name Derby become less problematic. *Bý*-names are usually used of nucleated villages or sometimes of hamlets, and Derby is a notable exception.<sup>70</sup> Derby is also unusual as a Scandinavian coining for a significant place (most Scandinavian names refer to lesser places), and, as stated above, it is the only one of the Five Boroughs to bear a Scandinavian name: the English or pre-English names of Nottingham, Leicester, Lincoln, and Stamford have all survived intact. Fellows-Jensen has suggested that this is because Derby's position at the border of the Danelaw, in an area of relatively insignificant Scandinavian settlement, may have caused the Scandinavians to cluster around the *burh* for protection, and, dominating the local population, they effected a change of name.<sup>71</sup> The account offered here obviates the need for special explanation.

These few examples should suffice to show how useful it is to consider the mint-signatures alongside the evidence offered by the Chronicle. In the case of Cissbury and Derby, the coins offer positive evidence which helps in understanding both the names' etymologies and something of the history of each of these places. For

<sup>68</sup> Fellows-Jensen suggests that this possibility 'should perhaps be borne in mind' ('Scandinavian Influence', p. 347). See also Abrams and Parsons, 'Place-Names and the History of Scandinavian Settlement', p. 393, n. 76.

<sup>69</sup> R. A. Hall, 'The Five Boroughs of the Danelaw: A Review of Present Knowledge', *ASE*, 18 (1989), 149–206 (p. 155); Beswick and Spary Green, 'Excavations', pp. 64–76.

<sup>70</sup> Parsons and Styles, *Vocabulary of English Place-Names: Brace–Caster*, s.v. *bý*.

<sup>71</sup> Gillian Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Danelaw in the Light of the Place-Names of Denmark', in *Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress, Århus, 24–31 August 1977*, ed. by H. Bekker-Nielsen and others (Odense, 1981), pp. 133–45 (p. 141).

*Weardburh*, the evidence is rather more 'negative', serving mainly to dispute previously suggested identifications.

I now turn to the orthography of the die-cutters, the value of coins for historical linguistic matters in comparison with that offered by the Chronicle manuscripts. Again, both positive and 'negative' evidence offered by the coins' legends will be assessed.

### *Coins, the Chronicle, and Language*

The various manuscripts of the Chronicle are widely and justly regarded as an invaluable source for those interested in the early history of English.<sup>72</sup> Philologists, in particular scholars of what is typically called late Old English and those who direct their attention to place-names, are indebted to its treasure-trove of linguistic delights. The coin readings complement and contrast with the evidence of the Chronicle (and other Old English manuscripts) in many ways. In what follows, I illustrate the value of coin-signatures to those seeking the etymologies of place-names, and then give examples to show some of the ways in which the coin orthography is a less conservative spelling system than that represented in the Chronicle, and indeed in other Old English manuscripts.

A number of place-names are first found in documentary form in the Chronicle, and, in some cases, their only pre-Conquest appearances are there. Stafford is one such name. Before its appearance in Domesday Book, it is mentioned *s.a.* 913 in manuscripts BCD (the Mercian Register): Æthelflæd builds a *burh at Staefforda* (manuscripts BC; *Staffordaburh*, manuscript D).<sup>73</sup> The suggested etymology of the name is that it comprises OE *stæð* 'bank, shore, landing-place' and OE *ford*, to give 'ford by a landing-place'.<sup>74</sup> This etymology was, for a long time, based on those post-Conquest forms of the name which preserve the *ð* of *stæð* realized in <d> and <t> spellings.<sup>75</sup> The coin-signatures not only provide us with instances which

<sup>72</sup> See, for example, the comments of Cecily Clark in the introduction to her edition of MS E: *PC*, pp. vii, xxxvii–lxxiv, and those of C. Sprockel in *The Language of the Parker Chronicle*, vol. 1: *Phonology and Accidence* (The Hague, 1965), p. xviii.

<sup>73</sup> MS B, the earliest copy, dates from 977x1000.

<sup>74</sup> Eilert Ekwall, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1960), *s.v.* Stafford.

<sup>75</sup> *Stadford, Statford: DB: Staffordshire*, 4.1, 6.1. See Ekwall, *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*. The coin forms are cited in Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, *s.v.* Stafford.

predate the Chronicle forms, they also lend weight to this hypothesized etymology: the readings STED<sup>76</sup> (924x39) and STÆD (973x75; 991x97) confirm the proposed first element *stæð*.

Where the Stafford signatures fit comfortably with a previously proposed etymology, and serve to narrow down the range of possible alternative etymologies, the Cricklade signatures work to achieve the opposite effect, and to dismantle carefully constructed explanations. This difficult place-name has as its second element Old English *gelād* ‘(difficult) river-crossing’, in this case over the River Thames, which runs in more than one channel at this point. The river-crossing is connected with Ermine Street, although it is not the Roman road’s original crossing-point: the road appears to have been diverted either at or before the building of the Anglo-Saxon stronghold at Cricklade. The name’s first element is obscure, although Primitive Welsh *\*crŭg* ‘hill, barrow, mound’ and *\*creig* ‘rock’ have both been suggested as possible origins,<sup>77</sup> perhaps referring to Common Hill, half a mile west of the town.<sup>78</sup> The name’s earliest documentary forms are to be found in the Chronicle:

**Table 8. Cricklade signatures 1.**

Form	Annal
to Creccagelade	<i>s.a.</i> 904, MS A
to Cracgelade	<i>s.a.</i> 905, MS B
to Creaccgelade	<i>s.a.</i> 905, MS C
æt Cregelade	<i>s.a.</i> 1016, MS C
to Creocgelade	<i>s.a.</i> 905 MS D
æt Cricgelade	<i>s.a.</i> 1016, MS D
æt Cræcilade	<i>s.a.</i> 1016, MS E
æt Crecalade <sup>1</sup>	<i>s.a.</i> 1016, MS F
usque Crecalade	<i>s.a.</i> 1016, MS F

<sup>1</sup> Altered from *Crecalende*.

<sup>76</sup> Spellings in <e> for OE *æ* (< PG *a*) are commonly found on coins and therefore may simply reflect coin orthography; alternatively, they may suggest a West Midland ‘narrow’ realization as [ɛ] (‘second fronting’; Alistair Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959), §§164, 168; Richard M. Hogg, *A Grammar of Old English: Phonology* (Oxford, 1992), §5.87; Richard Jordan, *Handbook of Middle English Grammar: Phonology*, trans. and rev. by Eugene J. Crook (The Hague, 1974) §32).

<sup>77</sup> Ekwall, *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*; Mills, *Dictionary of British Place-Names*, *s.v.* Cricklade.

<sup>78</sup> J. E. B. Gover, Allen Mawer, and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Wiltshire* (Cambridge, 1939), p. 42.

It is not unusual to find a certain amount of variation in the representation of the stressed vowels of place-names, but the nine Chronicle forms are extraordinarily varied, with what appear to be representations of front and back, pure and diphthong vowels. The fact that the same annal (905<sup>79</sup>) in four different Chronicle manuscripts has produced four different forms of the name strongly suggests a problem in the ultimate exemplar. There are no other texts written down before the Conquest which preserve the name Cricklade, but the forms in the manuscripts of the Burghal Hidage have attracted attention as linguistically valuable, accurately preserving pre-Conquest forms in post-Conquest copies.<sup>80</sup> A2, Laurence Nowell's 1562 transcript of London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho B XI (early eleventh century), usually deemed the most reliable copy of the Burghal Hidage from the point of view of orthography,<sup>81</sup> records the name as '(to) *crecgelade*'. However, all of the B-manuscripts (dating from the early thirteenth century and later) have spellings in <o> (*crocce*-, etc).<sup>82</sup>

The range of graphs representing the stressed vowel of the first element includes <e>, <a>, <ea>, <i>, <æ>, <eo>, and <o>. Both \**crūg* and \**creig* customarily generate a narrower range of reflexes in Old English. For \**crūg* we would expect to find <u>, <y>, or <i>, depending upon the stage at which the name was adopted into English,<sup>83</sup> and it must be for this reason that the editors of *The Place-Names of Wiltshire* state that '[t]he early spellings [...] show that the first element cannot be the British *cruc*, "hill"'.<sup>84</sup> English place-names in \**creig* produce a wider range of spellings: <e>, <ei>, <ey>, <a>, <ai>, <ay>. However, forms in <e> and <ei> or <ey> are the most common, and a faint pattern can be traced whereby early <e> forms are followed by later <ei> forms.<sup>85</sup> Nevertheless, \**creig* has remained the

<sup>79</sup> Originally dated 904 in MS A.

<sup>80</sup> Dodgson, 'Linguistic Analysis', pp. 116–17.

<sup>81</sup> 'Most reliance is usually placed on the spellings of MS. A2, Nowell's transcript (date 1593) of MS. A1, Cotton Otho B. xi (date early eleventh century). A1 was a copy of a text derived from some original presumably from the time of Edward the Elder (899–924)' (Dodgson, 'Linguistic Analysis', p. 98).

<sup>82</sup> Alexander R. Rumble, 'A Collation of the Burghal Hidage Place-Name Forms', in *Defence of Wessex*, ed. by Hill and Rumble, pp. 124–27.

<sup>83</sup> Kenneth H. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), pp. 309–10, 315–16; see also Ekwall, *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, s.v. Brit, OW *cruc*.

<sup>84</sup> Gover, Mawer, and Stenton, *Place Names of Wiltshire*, p. 42.

<sup>85</sup> See the early forms of Creaton (Northants), Creighton (Staffs.), Craike Hall (Yorkshire, East Riding), River Crake (Lancs), Crayke (Yorkshire, North Riding), Creake (Norfolk), Crick (Northants), Blindcrake (Cumbria), and Dunkery (Somerset).

preferred suggestion for the first element of Cricklade, and John Dodgson, in his analysis of the Burghal Hidage names, argued that forms in <e>, <ea>, <a>, <i>, <cy> could be explained as ‘variants which probably arose from the range of sound-substitutions made in early O[ld] E[n]glish for the *ei* diphthong of Primitive Welsh’.<sup>86</sup> Spellings in <eo> (the D-manuscript of the Chronicle) and <o> (the B-manuscripts of the Burghal Hidage), however, present insuperable phonological problems, and they were argued away as, respectively, a miscopy for <ea> and ‘a post-Conquest scribal misreading of a round Insular Minuscule *e* as a Minuscule *o*, and of the first element being confused with OE *crocc* “pot”’.<sup>87</sup> The Cricklade mint-signatures are instructive here:

**Table 9. Cricklade signatures 2.**

Form	Issue Dates
CROCCI	979x85
CROCGLA	979x85
GROG	979x85
CROC	991x97, 1009x17, 1017x23, 1023x29, 1029x36, 1040x42, 1042x44, 1053x56
CRON	991x97
GROC	997x1003, 1009x17
CREC	1003x09, 1017x23, 1053x56
CRACGL	1009x17
CROCGLAD	1009x17
CEROC	1017x23
CRECGE	1017x23
CROCCIL	1017x23
CROCI	1017x23
CROCL	1017x23
CROCLAD	1017x23
CROG	1017x23
CROGL	1017x23
CROGLA	1017x23
CR	1023x29, 1044x46
CRO	1023x29, 1029x36, 1036x37, 1036x38, 1038x40, 1042x44
CRICLA	1029x36
CROGI	1029x36
CRECELA	1050x53

<sup>86</sup> Dodgson, ‘Linguistic Analysis’, p. 116.

<sup>87</sup> Dodgson, ‘Linguistic Analysis’, p. 117.

Form	Issue Dates
CREC	1053x56
CRECCELAD	1056x59
CREECA	1056x59
CRECEL	1059x62
CRECLA	1065x66
CRECLAD	1065x66
CRICCELA	1066

Before the reign of Edward the Confessor, spellings in <O> dominate, and a pattern can be traced whereby earlier <O> spellings are later replaced by forms with front vowels, mostly <E>, from the middle of the eleventh century. With this in mind, the possibility that the manuscript forms in <O> can be argued away as mistakes must be discounted, and so too the possibility that the various forms are all reflexes of \**creig*. No such range of spellings is found in the various realizations of either \**crūg* or \**creig*, and such a variety of forms rather suggests that the name may not have been understood by the Anglo-Saxons. However, the number of early signatures in <O> may point to a topographically appropriate etymology. An Old English first element \**crōc* ‘crook, bend’, cognate with ON *krókr* but unattested except in place-names,<sup>88</sup> would give a meaning of ‘crossing at the crook’. This could have referred to the river-course at the point at which Ermine Street originally crossed the Thames, where there is ‘a pronounced and unnaturally sharp loop’;<sup>89</sup> this name would then have been transferred to the stronghold when it was built. Alternatively, the name could have referred to the crook created in Ermine Street itself when it was diverted to the ‘new’ crossing at the stronghold.<sup>90</sup>

Such a solution, while attractive, does not account fully for the range of forms evidenced in the mint-signatures and, more particularly, in the written evidence of the Chronicle manuscripts, but it does demonstrate how mint-signatures can work to dismantle etymologies based upon the incomplete, and possibly spurious, evidence of the written record. The variation in the spellings of Cricklade within the four versions of the 905 annal should raise in the philologist the suspicion that, somewhere along the line, something has gone wrong in the text’s transmission at just that point. It is no doubt owing to the high — and usually just — regard in

<sup>88</sup> Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, s.v.; *krókr* is given as the etymon of modern ‘crook’ in the *OED*.

<sup>89</sup> F. T. Wainwright, ‘Ermin Street at Cricklade’, *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, 57 (1958–60), 192–200 (p. 193).

<sup>90</sup> See Wainwright, ‘Ermin Street’, p. 198, figure 1.

which the Chronicle is held by linguists and place-name scholars that no such suspicions have been voiced. If we disregard the evidence of the 905 annal, the pattern of earlier <o> spellings (represented by the coin record and the B manuscripts of the Burghal Hidage) and later <e> spellings is much clearer, and it makes good sense to concentrate on finding a solution to this apparent change or alternation in vowels.<sup>91</sup> At this stage, all we can say with absolute confidence is that the name Cricklade presented unusually severe problems for the English scribes and die-cutters who attempted to represent it.

I turn now from specific etymological considerations to more general historical-linguistic ones. The late Old English period was one of significant linguistic change, ultimately compounded by the linguistic consequences of the Norman Conquest. Many of the developments which receive full expression in Middle English were underway well before the Conquest consigned England's vernacular to second-class status. These changes do not appear in texts that were written down before the Conquest, in part because of the evolution of a 'highly developed written standard language' in the late Old English period.<sup>92</sup> As Alistair Campbell notes of the changes in the vowel system, 'these changes did not generally receive expression in the by then fairly stable Old English spelling, and they are to be traced mainly through Middle English evidence'.<sup>93</sup> In other words, there was a time lag between changes in spoken English and their representation in written form. Manuscript orthography, including that of the Chronicle, is a conservative representation of the changing phonological structure of the language. The coin spellings, however, emanate from a very different production context from the monastic milieu of the scribes who produced manuscripts, and in general, the coins have a less conservative spelling system than the Chronicle. To illustrate this, I examine in some detail evidence offered by the mint-signatures of Rochester and Lydford, before looking more generally at the evidence offered by coin-legends for the changes in vowel system which mark the shift from Old to Middle English.

From the point of view of conservative versus non-conservative spellings, the most striking contrast between the orthography of the Chronicle manuscripts and that of the coin record is perhaps to be found in spellings of Rochester. Rochester

<sup>91</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the name by David N. Parsons, which includes a provisional attempt to account for the <e>-forms, see Carroll and Parsons, *Anglo-Saxon Mint-Names*, 1, 106–12.

<sup>92</sup> Helmut Gneuss, 'The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's School at Winchester', *ASE*, 1 (1972), 63–83 (p. 63).

<sup>93</sup> Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §329.

is mentioned frequently in the Chronicle record because it was an episcopal see from the early seventh century and the site of an unsuccessful siege by the Vikings at the end of the ninth century. There are seventy-seven (Old English) instances of the name in the various manuscripts: fifty-seven of these represent the initial sound of the name with the cluster <hr>,<sup>94</sup> and twenty with <r>.<sup>95</sup> With the exception of one <r> spelling in manuscript D (*s.a.* 885; *s. xi<sup>med</sup>*), the <r> spellings are confined to the later manuscripts E (1121 and later)<sup>96</sup> and F (dated by Ker to *s. xi/xii*).<sup>97</sup> The coin spellings are rather different:

**Table 10. Coin spellings.**

Form	Issue Dates
DOROBREBIA CIBI	<i>s. viii/ix</i>
ROF CIVIT	927x39
HROF	973x75, 991
ROF	973x75, 979x85, 985x91, 991, 997x1003, 1003x09, 1009x17, 1017x23, 1029x36, 1036x37, 1046x48, 1053x56, 1059x62
ROFE	973x75, 979x85, 985x91, 991x97, 997x1003, 1009x17, 1017x23, 1023x29, 1029x36, 1036x37, 1044x46, 1046x48, 1056x59, 1059x62
HROFE	979x85
ROFECE	979x85
ROFEC	985x91, 991x97, 997x1003, 1009x17, 1017x23, 1023x29, 1029x36, 1036x38
ROFECEST	1009x17
ROFCS	1017x23
ROFECST	1017x23
ROFID	1023x29
ROC	1042x44
RO	1042x44
ROCE	1044x46
ROFI	1066

The contrast is striking. Here, initial <hr> is unusual, occurring on only three issues from the later tenth century. Coin-forms are customarily abbreviated, but

<sup>94</sup> Instances with initial <hr> are to be found in 604AE, 616AE, 633ABCF, 643/44ABCF, 693F, 694F, 727DF, 731DF, 740/41ABCD, 801D, 802ABCDF, 839ABCD, 885/86ABCE, 893/94ABCD, 896/97ABCD, 986CDEF, 999CDEF, 1023D, 1058DE, 1087E, and 1114E.

<sup>95</sup> Instances with initial <r> are to be found in 604F, 633E, 643E, 655EF, 656Ex2, 675E, 727E, 731E, 740EF, 802E, 839E, 885D, 1058F, 1123E, 1124E, 1130E, and 1140E.

<sup>96</sup> Irvine, *MS E*, p. xix.

<sup>97</sup> Ker, p. 187.

it would be exceptional for the truncation to be at the beginning of the name rather than the end: we can discount the notion that this is simply a truncated form of an underlying 'normal' spelling in <hr>. The coins seem to provide early evidence for a well-known sound change: the falling together of *hr* and *r*. The initial *h* is a linguistic fossil, a trace of initial Germanic /x/. Before *r*, *l*, *n*, and *w*, Germanic /x/ 'disappeared, leaving the consonant voiceless, and *h* is written in OE as a diacritic to indicate this'.<sup>98</sup> Eventually, with the exception of *hw* and *w*, whose history is slightly different, the voiceless realizations fell together with the voiced (i.e. there was no longer any phonemic distinction between them), and this is represented in the written record by the disappearance of initial <h> before the relevant graphs. L. Goossens's work on late Old English glosses suggests that the distinction between *hr* and *r* was lost 'by the middle of the eleventh century',<sup>99</sup> and rather earlier than that between *hn* / *n* and *hl* / *l*,<sup>100</sup> but the disappearance tends to be evidenced in Middle English rather than Old English texts. As the representations of the name Rochester may suggest, with the exception of manuscript E where the change is relatively well attested,<sup>101</sup> there is little and sporadic evidence of it to be found in the (pre-1100) Chronicle manuscripts.<sup>102</sup>

The Rochester signatures, however, seem to provide earlier evidence for the falling together of *hr* and *r*, but there are potential problems with this interpretation. The name Rochester has a particularly complex etymology. There is a straightforward relationship between the Old English and modern forms of the place-name (*Hrōfescæster* > Rochester), but a very murky one between the Romano-British and Old English names — the process by which *Durobrivis* became *Hrōfescæster* is poorly understood. The Old English name appears to make use of the second syllable of the earlier name (*-robr-*),<sup>103</sup> which would have become *rofr-* through

<sup>98</sup> Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §461, p. 186.

<sup>99</sup> L. Goossens, 'A Chronology for the Falling Together of Later Old English *hr* and *r*', *English Studies*, 50 (1969), 74–79 (p. 75). The manuscripts he considers are Brussels, Royal Library, MS 1650 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 146.

<sup>100</sup> Jordan suggests that the *h* was silent 'already about 1000'; *Handbook*, §195, p. 179.

<sup>101</sup> Irvine, *MS E*, pp. cxxix, cxxviii.

<sup>102</sup> As reported in the following: Sprockel, *Language of the Parker Chronicle*, I, 125 (he gives just one example, although there are more to be found, for example, *radost*, s.a. 755, *raðe*, s.a. 913, and *nawer*, s.a. 914); Taylor, *MS B*, p. lxxvii (one example in a personal name); O'Brien O'Keeffe, *MS C*, p. cix (in some representations of *braðe*); Cubbin, *MS D*, pp. xcix, civ, cxix cxxii, cxxvii.

<sup>103</sup> The stress would have fallen on this second syllable, and 'when the name was taken over by the English, the unstressed initial syllable was lost, and the *v* (*w*), which had become final, was lost as in Dee from *Deva*' (Ekwall, *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 390).

British lenition. Rochester's initial *h* appears in English and Latin documentary texts from the time of Bede, but it is unetymological, and appears to have its origins in an association of the Anglicized version of the Romano-British name with the closest Old English word, *hrōf* 'roof'.<sup>104</sup> It has also been suggested that 'the first element is actually the word *hrōf* [. . .] the name meaning "Roman town of the roof" with reference to some [Roman] building which was in a better-than-average state of preservation in the early Anglo-Saxon period'.<sup>105</sup> If this is the case, there is no problem in suggesting that the coin-forms may provide evidence of a generalized sound change which is earlier than the documentary forms otherwise suggest. However, given that it is possible that Rochester's initial *h* may be unetymological, it could be argued that such a suggestion would be unwise. Yet even if the initial *h*- is ultimately inorganic, it appears early and appears to have operated as an intrinsic part of the place-name, regardless of the historical derivation.

A further mint-signature, that for Lydford (Devon), offers supporting evidence. The name Lydford means 'ford over the River Lyd', and the river-name derives ultimately from Old English *hlūd* (the ancestor of modern English 'loud'), giving a meaning 'the noisy one'.<sup>106</sup> All the pre-Conquest documentary spellings for Lydford, including instances in manuscripts CDE of the Chronicle, *s.a.* 997, retain initial (etymological) *h* in the consonant cluster *hl*.<sup>107</sup> The Lydford mint-signatures do not. From the first appearance of the mint-name on Edgar's Reform Coinage (973x75), the forms lack initial *h*.<sup>108</sup>

The Rochester and Lydford signatures suggest that, at least in the representation of this initial cluster, the coin-legends represent a less conservative spelling system than that found in the Chronicle, and in other manuscripts. While loss of initial *h*- in these clusters is to be found very sporadically in pre-Conquest manuscripts, this coin evidence is early and generally consistent. While the Rochester and Lydford signatures are individually striking in their representation of *h*-initial

<sup>104</sup> Bede offers his own etymology for Rochester (*Hrofaesceaster*): he does not connect it with the Romano-British name, but instead explains it as the *ceaster* of an early English chieftain *Hrōf*.

<sup>105</sup> Gelling, *Signposts to the Past*, p. 56.

<sup>106</sup> The river-name form would be *hlyde*. Ekwall, *English River-Names*, p. 273.

<sup>107</sup> The relevant forms are as follows: *to Hlidan* c. 910 (12th), *Hlydanforda* (ASC CD, *s.a.* 997), *Hlidaford* 1018 (11th; also *s.a.* 997E). J. E. B. Gover and others, *The Place-Names of Devon: Part I* (Cambridge, 1931), p. 191.

<sup>108</sup> 'Forms with aspirated initial HLYDAF [. . .] and LHYDA [. . .] occur only under Cnut': Veronica Smart, *Cumulative Index of Volumes 1–20*, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, 28 (London, 1981), p. 99.

clusters, for evidence pertaining to vowel change, a wide range of coin evidence can be brought to bear on the matter.

The monophthongization of the Old English diphthongs to /ø/ is one of the ‘great changes of the eleventh century’.<sup>109</sup> In the manuscript record, monophthongs ‘first begin to be indicated by spelling soon after 1000’,<sup>110</sup> but in general the Chronicle texts are conservative in their representation of (standard) diphthongs.<sup>111</sup> Some of the mint-signatures follow the pattern established in the manuscript record and reported in the standard grammars, with single vowels appearing alongside digraphs in the course of the eleventh century. Digraphs and single-vowel spellings are coterminous in the mid-eleventh-century signatures for the Berkeley (<EO> and <E> for *beorc* ‘birch’) and Bury St Edmund (<EA> and <E> for *Ēad-*) mints.<sup>112</sup> Coins from Barnstaple, Hertford, Thetford, and Derby, however, provide earlier evidence. Spellings in <A> are as common as those in <EA> (for *\*bearde* ‘battle-axe’) on Barnstaple coins from the beginning of Æthelred II’s reign (979x85). The first element of Hertford (*beor(o)t*) generates a range of spellings, but those in <E> appear from 975x78 and regularly thereafter; occasional spellings in <V>, <Y>, <O> probably also indicate monophthongization.<sup>113</sup> Spellings in <E> (for *pēod* ‘people’) are found on Thetford coins from 997x1003, but do not become common until the mid-eleventh century. As outlined above, the etymology of Derby is complex: its diphthong *ēo* is *in origin* probably a substitution for the river-name Derwent’s British *e*,<sup>114</sup> but in the late Anglo-Saxon period it likely represents an efficient anglicization of Old Norse *jú*, the corresponding reflex of Common

<sup>109</sup> Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §329, p. 135.

<sup>110</sup> Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §329, p. 135. See also Jordan, *Handbook*, §58: ‘occasional <æ> writings of the 11th cent. beside traditional <ea>’. Campbell exempts ‘very occasional’ spellings from Northumbrian texts and the Rushworth Gospels (p. 135, n. 2).

<sup>111</sup> The Collaborative Edition editors of manuscripts ABCD do not record any secure instances where monophthongization is represented in the orthography. Bately notes that the one instance of <æ> for standard *ea* ‘is generally supposed to be a scribal error’ (*MS A*, p. cxlv). Even MS E is relatively conservative: <eo> for *eo* ‘is generally retained’ (Irvine, *MS E*, p. cxvi), <ea> for *ēa* ‘commonly remains’ with some spellings in <æ> and <e> (p. cxxii), and <eo> for *ēo* ‘is commonly retained’ (p. cxxiii). Some spellings in <e>, <æ>, and <a> for *ea* may indicate monophthongization.

<sup>112</sup> In Berkeley, *eo* is from Proto-germanic (PG) *e + r + C*. In this one case, it is possible that the <e> spellings are the result of failure of breaking, rather than monophthongization. In Edmund, *ēa* is the normal reflex of PG *au*.

<sup>113</sup> In Hertford, *eo* is from PG *e* with back mutation. Forms in <i> are found as early as the reign of Edwig (955x59), and may also represent a (higher) pure vowel.

<sup>114</sup> Ekwall, *English River-Names*, p. 122.

Germanic *eu*.<sup>115</sup> In either case, the coin forms show early monophthongization of resulting *ēo*, with spellings in <E> from 959x72 and frequently thereafter.

Thus, the mint-signatures seem to provide good early evidence for the changes associated with late Old English and the transition to Middle English. They suggest that what we have in the Chronicle — and, indeed, in most Old English manuscripts — is a rather more conservative system of spelling than that represented by the coin orthography.

### *Conclusion*

The mint-signatures speak to us about a variety of issues pertaining to the events and language of Anglo-Saxon England. They may provide positive evidence, offering us an alternative view on periods of history only partially covered by the Chronicle, or confirming etymologies unsatisfactorily supported by manuscript evidence. They may provide negative evidence, serving to dismantle established identifications and etymologies. They offer us a valuable glimpse of an orthographic system which may represent more accurately the sounds of the everyday language of the Anglo-Saxons than that offered by our more conventional manuscript sources. The Chronicle manuscripts provide us with an invaluable linguistic record, but it is as well to remember that this record is of the written language of cloistered communities producing texts within a particular and well-regulated system. The coins do worthwhile work in reminding us that this system did not produce a representative record of English before the Conquest. For both history and language, the ‘case studies’ offered here should demonstrate that the evidence of the coins is a valuable and, perhaps most importantly, alternative source for pre-Conquest England.

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<sup>115</sup> Olof von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937), §68.

## Appendix

### *Mint Productivity*

The following tables give an idea of the productivity of Anglo-Saxon England's minting-places with a variety of measures: the number of issues struck; the number of reigns during which the mint was active; the position each was allocated in David Hill's 'ranking of mints expressed as a percentage of total known moneyers'.<sup>116</sup> Where the minting-place appears in the Burghal Hidage, this is noted.

**Table 11. Mint-names not recorded in the Chronicle manuscripts.**<sup>117</sup>

	no. of issues	no. of reigns <sup>1</sup>	Hill's ranking	<i>Burghal Hidage</i>
Axbridge, Som. <sup>2</sup>	7	4	60	x
Barnstaple, Devon <sup>3</sup>	17	6	50	x
Bedwyn, Wilts.	8	1	77	x
Bridport / Bredy, Dorset	13	6	58	x
Bruton, Som.	8 <sup>4</sup>	4	61	
(South) Cadbury, Som.	3	2	63	
Caistor, Lincs.	3–5	2 or 3	87	
Cissbury, Sussex	2	2	69	
Crewkerne, Som.	5	3	71	
Guildford, Surrey	17	7	44	
Horncastle, Lincs.	3	2	75	
Horndon, Essex	1	1	83	
Ilchester, Som.	21	7	25	
Langport, Som.	9	5	68	x
Launceston, Cornwall	1	1	76	
Lewes, Sussex	31	9	13	x
Lympne, Kent	12	5	57	
Melton Mowbray, Leics. <sup>5</sup>	2	2	82	
Milborne Port, Som.	3	2	66	
Neatishead, Norfolk	1	1	not listed	
Newark, Notts.	4	4	84	

<sup>116</sup> David Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1981), p. 130, numbers 222–23. This is rather out of date, but still useful.

<sup>117</sup> The numbers of issues and reigns are taken from the 'Mints and Moneyers' tables in North, *English Hammered Coinage*, unless otherwise noted. NB: North's Harthacnut 'First Jewel Cross' and Harthacnut 'Second Jewel Cross' are counted as one issue, as are Harold I's Fleur-de-lis (a) and (b). This accounts for some discrepancies in North's and my numbers of issues. Only reigns and issues *for which we have mint-signed coins* are included.

	no. of issues	no. of reigns <sup>1</sup>	Hill's ranking	<i>Burghal Hidage</i>
Newport Pagnell, Bucks.	5	3	65	
Romney, Kent	18	6	46	
Shelford, Cambs.	1	Earl Sihtric	not listed	
(South) Petherton, Som.	3	2	80	
Steyning, Sussex	15	5	52	
Totnes, Devon	16	6 <sup>6</sup>	42	
Warminster, Wilts.	6	4	67	

<sup>1</sup> From the reign of Alfred (871–99) on.

<sup>2</sup> Three reigns and six issues are noted by North: a unique Edgar Reform Portrait coin appeared recently (see C. S. S. Lyon and M. Sharp, 'An Eadgar Reform Penny of Axbridge', *BNJ*, 71 (2001), 161).

<sup>3</sup> A damaged Edgar Reform Portrait coin bearing the partial legend BEA has been attributed tentatively to Barnstaple.

<sup>4</sup> North gives seven issues for Bruton, not noting the 'Cnut' Arm and Sceptre issue; see EMC 1013.0117 for an example of this issue.

<sup>5</sup> Attributed to Peterborough by North. See Mark A. S. Blackburn, 'Metheltun not Medeshamstede: An Anglo-Saxon Mint at Melton Mowbray Rather than Peterborough Abbey', *BNJ*, 70 (2000), 143–45.

<sup>6</sup> North records Harthacnut's 'Cnut' issues under Cnut; thus, only five reigns are represented in his tables.

**Table 12. Mint-names recorded in the Chronicle manuscripts.**

	no. of issues	no. of reigns	Hill's ranking	<i>Burghal Hidage</i>
Aylesbury, Bucks.	6	3	53	
Bath, Som.	29	10	30	x
Bedford, Beds.	29	9	22	
Berkeley, Glos.	3 <sup>1</sup>	1	78	
Bristol, Glos.	20	6	33	
Buckingham, Bucks.	16	7	64	x
Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk	6	1	85	
Cambridge, Cambs.	26	8	15	
Canterbury, Kent <sup>2</sup>	33	11	9	
Chester, Cheshire	37	10	5	
Chichester, Sussex	28	8	36	x
Colchester, Essex	21	6 <sup>3</sup>	20	
Cricklade, Wilts.	22	6	39	x
Derby, Derbys.	32	11 <sup>4</sup>	38	
Dorchester, Dorset	22	6	56	
Dover, Kent	28	8	16	
Droitwich, Worcs. <sup>5</sup>	3	2	not listed	

	no. of issues	no. of reigns	Hill's ranking	<i>Burghal Hidage</i>
Exeter, Devon	33 or 34 <sup>6</sup>	11	7	x
Gloucester, Glos.	30	10	23	
Hastings, Sussex	23	6 <sup>7</sup>	34	x
Hereford, Hereford	26 <sup>8</sup>	8	24	
Hertford, Herts.	28 <sup>9</sup>	9	28	
Huntingdon, Hunts.	24	7 <sup>10</sup>	17	
Hythe, Kent	3 or 4 <sup>11</sup>	1	72	
Ipswich, Suffolk	28	8	18	
Leicester, Leics.	26	9 <sup>12</sup>	27	
Lincoln, Lincs.	28	9 <sup>13</sup>	2	
London, Middx <sup>14</sup>	39	11	1	
Lydford, Devon	19	7 <sup>15</sup>	40	x
Maldon, Essex	21	7	41	
Malmesbury, Wilts.	26	7	49	x
Northampton, Northants	30	9	29	
Norwich, Norfolk	32 <sup>16</sup>	11 <sup>17</sup>	10	
Nottingham, Notts.	23	7	43	
Oxford, Oxon	32	11	12	x
Pershore, Worcs.	1	1	79	
Reading, Berks.	2	1	81	
Rochester, Kent	25	9	35	
Salisbury, Wilts.	17	5	37	
Sandwich, Kent	7	1	73	
Shaftesbury, Dorset	30	9	32	x
Shrewsbury, Salop	29	8	14	
Southampton, Hants	10 or 11	5 or 6	47	x
Southwark, Surrey	23	6	11	x
Stafford, Staffs.	16 or 17	6	55	
Stamford, Lincs.	29	8	8	
Sudbury, Suffolk	10	3	62	
Tamworth, Staffs.	23	7	48	
Taunton, Devon	16	6	51	
Thetford, Norfolk	28 or 29	8	6	
Torksey, Lincs.	10	3	70	
Wallingford, Berks. <sup>18</sup>	31 or 32	9 or 10	19	x
Wareham, Dorset	24	9	45	x
Warwick, Warks.	28 or 29	9	31	x
Watchet, Som.	19	5	59	x
Wilton, Wilts.	26	8	26	x
Winchcombe, Glos.	14	6	54	
Winchester, Hants	35	11	4	x

	no. of issues	no. of reigns	Hill's ranking	<i>Burghal Hidage</i>
Worcester, Worcs.	25	6	21	x
York, Yorks. <sup>19</sup>	32	10	3	

<sup>1</sup> The Edward the Confessor Pax is represented by a single coin which reads +VLFCYTL O: BEO. It has been suggested that this may be from Bedford, where an Ulfcetel is known to have minted.

<sup>2</sup> There exist mint-signed Canterbury issues in the names of Eadbald of Kent (616–40), Archbishop Wulfred (805–32), Ceolwulf of Mercia (821–23), Baldred of Kent (?821–25), Ecgberht of Wessex (802–39), Archbishop Ceolnoth (833–70), Æthelwulf of Wessex (839–56), and Archbishop Plegmund (890–923).

<sup>3</sup> North records Harthacnut's 'Cnut' issues under Cnut; thus, only five reigns are represented in his tables.

<sup>4</sup> Including Olaf Guthfrithsson's issue. It is not clear whether the moneyer Merra struck Edmund's Circumscription Cross / Circumscription Rosette at Derby.

<sup>5</sup> The most likely candidate for the WIC(C) etc. signatures.

<sup>6</sup> Depending upon whether the Edgar Bust Crowned EA signature should be attributed to Exeter.

<sup>7</sup> Also named as a mint in the Grately Code, suggesting minting activity during Athelstan's reign.

<sup>8</sup> North lists Hereford as striking Edgar's Bust Crowned issue, but the signature given there, HIRT, suggests that the mint is Hertford (p. 149).

<sup>9</sup> Harthacnut's Jewel Cross issue is not noted in North (see EMC 1040.0030).

<sup>10</sup> It is possible that further issues, with coins from the reigns of Eadwig, reading HVN and HAH, and Edward the Elder, reading VN and HVNTM, should be attributed to Huntingdon.

<sup>11</sup> Coins of Edward the Confessor's Small Flan issue, reading HY, are queried in North.

<sup>12</sup> Including the Scandinavian 'Alfred Two-Line' imitative issue, reading LICIRA CIVI.

<sup>13</sup> Two Scandinavian imitative 'Alfred' issues (after c. 880) and the St Martin coinage (c. 925) also bear the Lincoln signature.

<sup>14</sup> The London signature is found on issues from the early seventh century on.

<sup>15</sup> North records Harthacnut's 'Cnut' issues under Cnut; thus, only six reigns are represented in his tables.

<sup>16</sup> North also gives ?Norwich for the Edgar Bust Crowned issue, but without giving a signature.

<sup>17</sup> The legend NORDVICO appears on a (Scandinavian) St Edmund penny; this may be a Norwich signature, although it has been interpreted as a personal name: V.J. Smart, 'The Moneyers of St Edmund', *Hikuin*, 11 (1985), 83–90 (p. 86).

<sup>18</sup> The signature WE, found on Eadwig's Three-Line (Horizontal) issue (955–59), may belong to Wallingford.

<sup>19</sup> York signatures appear also on various Scandinavian issues: some of the Sievert-Siefred-Cnut group (c. 895–902); coins of Regnald I (c. 919–21); the St Peter pennies (c. 905–c. 927).



## NORSE-DERIVED VOCABULARY IN THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE

Sara M. Pons-Sanz

### *Introduction*

**T**he compilation and expansion of the versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle took place in various parts of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England from the end of the ninth till the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> This makes them a very valuable source of information for Old English and early Middle English linguists interested in a wide range of issues, from synchronic and diachronic perspectives. The earliest entries and the annals of the so-called Peterborough Chronicle whose language should be associated with the twelfth rather than the eleventh century (see below) have attracted particular attention, especially from scholars interested in lexical and morphosyntactic issues.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the studies dealing with the lexicon, those concentrating on the Norse-derived terms have been prevalent, but are generally confined to the Peterborough Chronicle.<sup>3</sup> We need to remember that,

<sup>1</sup> For an overview of the processes which led to the various versions of the Chronicle, see Malasree Home, 'The Peterborough Chronicle and the Writing of History in the Twelfth Century' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2005), pp. 3–6 and 8–9, with references.

<sup>2</sup> For studies on the earliest annals, see, for example, C. Sprockel, *The Language of the Parker Chronicle*, 2 vols (The Hague, 1965–73); and Janet Bately, 'The Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 60 BC to AD 890: Vocabulary as Evidence', *PBA*, 64 (1978), 93–129. For studies on the final annals of the Peterborough Chronicle, see, for instance, David L. Shores, *Descriptive Syntax of the Peterborough Chronicle from 1122 to 1154*, *Janua Linguarum, Series Practica*, 103 (The Hague, 1971); Clark, *PC*, pp. xxxvii–lxxiv; and Nicoletta Francovich Onesti, *La lingua delle ultime sezioni della Cronaca di Peterborough* (Florence, 1983).

<sup>3</sup> Please note that *Norse-derived terms* in this article should be understood as encompassing all Norse loans as well as English new-formations which have a Norse loan as the base in a derivative

while the annals up to 1121 rely on an archetype (vE) which conflated entries with very different origins (see further below), those from 1122 till 1154 and a set of Interpolations throughout the pre-1121 annals appear to have been composed in Peterborough. While the so-called Final Continuation (annals 1132–54E) seems to be independent, the First Continuation (annals 1122–31E) may partially rely on a continuation of the Chronicle composed at a centre other than Peterborough.<sup>4</sup> In any case, the language of the two Continuations and of the Interpolations can be associated with an area with a significant Scandinavian presence, which provides a good, albeit in no way complete, explanation for the attestation of Norse-derived material in those entries, including grammatical terms.<sup>5</sup>

Given that the Norse-derived terms in the First and Second Continuations and in the Interpolations in the Peterborough Chronicle have received so much attention, and also that spatial limitations do not allow for a thorough study of all the Norse-derived terms recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, this article will concentrate on the terms in other parts of the Chronicle (particularly annals which are shared by two or more versions). The general aim of this article is to explore how the Chronicle can contribute to the study of the integration of Norse-derived terms in Old English. Such a study requires that we examine the semantic fields to which the terms belong, their cultural associations, their chronological and dialectal

or as one of the roots in a compound. For studies on the Norse-derived terms in the Peterborough Chronicle, see, for instance, Veronika Kniezsa, 'The Scandinavian Element in the Vocabulary of the Peterborough Chronicle', in *English Historical Linguistics 1992: Papers from the 7th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics, Valencia, 22–26 September 1992*, ed. by Francisco Fernández, Miguel Fuster, and Juan José Calvo, *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 113 (Amsterdam, 1994), pp. 235–45; Jonathan Evans, 'Scribal Error as Linguistic Evidence in the *Peterborough Chronicle*: Anglo-Scand./eME *þeora*', *NOWELE*, 37 (2000), 53–122; and Janne Skaffari, 'The Non-Native Vocabulary of the Peterborough Chronicle', in *Middle English: From Tongue to Text. Selected Papers from the Third International Conference on Middle English: Language and Text, Held at Dublin, Ireland, 1–4 July 1999*, ed. by Peter J. Lucas and Angela M. Lucas, *Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature*, 4 (Frankfurt am Main, 2002), pp. 235–46.

<sup>4</sup> On that continuation and the possibility that it may have been written in Latin rather than English, see Irvine, *MS E*, pp. lxxxvii–lxxxviii; and Home, 'Peterborough Chronicle', pp. 22 and 133–34. See also Susan Irvine, 'The Production of the Peterborough Chronicle', this volume. References to the Chronicle annals in this paper follow the volumes in the ASCCE series (Cambridge).

<sup>5</sup> On the Scandinavian presence in Peterborough and surrounding areas, see Cyril Hart, *The Danelaw* (London, 1992), pp. 10–16, 145–48, and 157–60. See also Dorothy Whitelock, 'Scandinavian Personal Names in the Liber Vitae of Thorney Abbey', *Saga-Book*, 12 (1937–45), 127–53; and Cecily Clark, 'On Dating *The Battle of Maldon*: Certain Evidence Reviewed', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 27 (1983), 1–22 (pp. 5–14).

distribution, and their semantic, stylistic, and numerical relationships with native equivalent terms. Due to spatial limitations, this paper does not deal with the latter issue. So as to engage with the other matters, this paper provides a survey of the Norse-derived terms recorded in various sets of annals and contextualizes their use, firstly, by identifying the textual layer with which a term should be associated; and, secondly, by analysing the term's cultural and dialectal associations. As part of the contextualization process, this article also explores what the Norse-derived terms can tell us about the place of composition of some of the annals dealt with.

The reasons for the identification of the terms discussed in this paper as Norse-derived vary tremendously; therefore, the adverbs *probably* or *possibly* should, in many cases, be understood to precede the composite adjective *Norse-derived*. The reasons for the acceptance of a term as Norse-derived will not be spelled out here; this information can be found in various general surveys of Norse-derived terms recorded in Old English texts.<sup>6</sup> Terms which are here not accepted to be Norse-derived but which have been analysed as such are mentioned in footnotes; either a bibliographical reference or a short note is provided as an explanation for their exclusion from the list of Norse-derived terms.

### *The Earliest Annals*

When studying the Norse-derived terms associated with the annals of the Chronicle up to the end of the tenth century, including the poem known as *The Battle of Brunanburh* and the annals previous to Æthelred's reign in the so-called Abingdon Chronicle (see below),<sup>7</sup> we should leave out of the discussion the use of OE *lagu* 'law' (cf. OIc. *lög* 'law') in two poems included in 959DE and 975D.<sup>8</sup> It is

<sup>6</sup> See, for instance, Erik Björkman, *Scandinavian Loanwords in Middle English*, Studien zur englischen Philologie, 7 and 11 (Halle, 1900–02); Dietrich Hofmann, *Nordisch-englische Lehnbeziehungen der Wikingerzeit*, Bibliotheca Arnemagnæana, 14 (Copenhagen, 1955); and Sara M. Pons-Sanz, *The Lexical Effects of Anglo-Scandinavian Linguistic Contact on Old English*, Studies in the Early Middle Ages (Turnhout, forthcoming), Chapters 2 and 3. Many of the terms discussed in this article are also dealt with in Sara M. Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts: Wulfstan's Works, a Case Study*, NOWELE: Supplement Series, 22 (Odense, 2007).

<sup>7</sup> *The Battle of Brunanburh* may have been composed independently from the Chronicle; see Matthew Townend, 'Pre-Cnut Praise Poetry in Viking Age England', *RES*, n.s., 51 (2000), 349–70 (p. 352). However, its inclusion in the Chronicle grants its analysis here; see Bately, *MS A*, pp. xxxiv–xxxv.

<sup>8</sup> Old English terms are translated following *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ed. by J. R. Clark Hall, 4th edn, with a supplement by Herbert D. Meritt (Cambridge, 1960), while the trans-

commonly accepted that these texts should be associated with the eleventh rather than the tenth century, although it is not necessarily the case that, as is frequently suggested, they were composed by Archbishop Wulfstan II of York (d. 1023).<sup>9</sup> From a chronological perspective, the use of *lagu* should, therefore, be associated with the linguistic situation surrounding the composition of the so-called Chronicle of Æthelred and Cnut (see the next section) rather than the annals under consideration in this section.

The annals at hand record two Norse-derived terms indicating social ranks (OE *eorl* 'leader, earl, title equivalent to OE *ealdormann*' and *hold* 'holder of allodial land, ranking below a *jarl*'; cf. OIc. *jarl* 'chief' and *höldr* 'free owner of allodial land') and two terms belonging to the technical vocabulary of seafaring and warfare (OE *cnearr* 'vessel, ship', also recorded as part of the *hapax legomenon* *nægledcnearr* 'nail-fastened vessel', and *sumorlida* '[Viking] summer army or expedition'; cf. OIc. *knörr* 'a ship-type, esp. merchant ship', and *lið* 'troops, host by sea or land', *liði* 'follower', and the Scandinavian personal name *Sumarliði*).<sup>10</sup> All of them appear in association with the Scandinavian attackers and settlers.<sup>11</sup> Likewise, these terms, with the possible exception of OE *eorl* and *sumorlida*, could be identified with what French philologists, following Deroy, call *xénismes*, that is, terms which are introduced following a new concept or object which did not exist in the cultural

lations of Old Icelandic terms are based on *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, ed. by Richard Cleasby and Gudbrand Vigfusson, 2nd edn, with a supplement by William A. Craigie (Oxford, 1957).

<sup>9</sup> See Sara M. Pons-Sanz, 'A Paw in Every Pie: Wulfstan and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Again', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s., 38 (2007), 31–52.

<sup>10</sup> OE *eorl*, frequently used as a title rather than a common noun, is attested in 871ADEF = 872BC, 911BCD, 914A = 915BCD, 916A, 917A, 937ABCD = 938F, and 975DE. OE *hold* is recorded in 904A = 905BCDE, 911ABCD, 914A (cf. *eorl* in 915BCD), and 917A. OE *cnearr* and *nægledcnearr* appear in 937ABCD. OE *sumorlida* can be found in 871ADE = 872BC.

<sup>11</sup> The use of OE *wicing* 'pirate, viking' (879ADE = 880BC, 885ADE = 886BC, etc.) and OE *æsc* 'ash-tree' (896A = 897CD) to refer to the Scandinavian marauders and their ships, respectively, has sometimes been interpreted as Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *vikigr* 'freebooter, rover, pirate' and *askr* 'ash-tree; small ship'). See, however, Sara M. Pons-Sanz, 'Norse-Derived Terms and Structures in *The Battle of Maldon*', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 107 (2008), 421–44 (pp. 429–31). Many terms and structures in *The Battle of Brunanburh* (OE *garmitting* 'battle', *gumena gemot* 'meeting of warriors', *guðhafoc* 'war-hawk, eagle', *sceard* 'deprived', *wæpengewrixl* 'hostile encounter', and the half-lines 'feld dānnede secga swate' (the field resounded with the blood of men)) have also been identified as Norse-derived by previous scholars. See, however, Townend, 'Pre-Cnut Praise Poetry in Viking Age England', pp. 358–59; and Jayne Carroll, 'Poetic Discourse in Viking Age England: Texts and Contexts' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Nottingham, 2001), pp. 47–60.

world of the speakers of the recipient language.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the selection of OE *cnearr* in *The Battle of Brunanburh* and the coinage of the compound OE *negledcnearr* seem to have been determined by the stylistic constraints of their context: both terms appear in alliterative position.

Not surprisingly, the earliest Norse-derived material in the Chronicle includes terms belonging to the semantic fields of seafaring and warfare. The technical superiority (or at least significance) of the Scandinavians in the nautical sphere has left important lexical traces.<sup>13</sup> These technical terms could have easily spread, through the mouths of Old English speakers themselves, to dialectal areas without much direct linguistic contact with Norse speakers (cf. OE *scegð* and *healdan*; see below).

The terms recorded in these annals, then, reflect what we would expect from entries which seem to have been composed, in the main, in centres outside the direct influence of the Scandinavian settlers at a time when the linguistic contact between speakers of Old English and Old Norse had been relatively short.<sup>14</sup>

### *The Chronicle of Æthelred and Cnut*

More substantial is the presence of Norse-derived terms in the next section of the Chronicle, the Chronicle of Æthelred and Cnut, which can be said to comprise the annals for 983–1022CDE (see also the next section).<sup>15</sup> Before proceeding any further, we need to discard again some words which should be associated with later layers of revision. 1016D replaces 'hira freondscype þær gefæstnodon' in 1016C(E)

<sup>12</sup> Louis Deroy, *L'Emprunt linguistique*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège, 141, 2nd edn (Paris, 1980), pp. 224–29.

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, the papers in *L'Héritage maritime des Vikings en Europe de l'ouest: Colloque international de la Hague (Flottemanville-Hague, 30 septembre – 3 octobre 1999)*, ed. by Élisabeth Ridet (Caen, 2002).

<sup>14</sup> For a scale of the expected levels of lexico-syntactic influence by one language on another depending on the degree of contact between their speakers, see Sarah G. Thomason, *Language Contact: An Introduction* (Edinburgh, 2001), pp. 70–71. On the date of composition of the annals, see Bately, *TTR*, p. 10; and Dumville, 'Origins', pp. 55–72. The place of composition of *The Battle of Brunanburh* remains unclear; see Peter Orton, 'On the Transmission and Phonology of *The Battle of Brunanburh*', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s., 25 (1994), 1–27 (p. 22). On the place of composition of the Abingdon Chronicle, see below.

<sup>15</sup> On the annals of this section of the Chronicle, see Conner, *Abingdon Chronicle*, pp. xlix and liv.

with ‘wurdon feolagan 7 wedbroðra’,<sup>16</sup> which may reflect the terms Cnut and Edmund Ironside used, respectively, to refer to their situation after their agreement near Deerhurst (cf. OIc. *fēlagi* ‘partner’).<sup>17</sup> As Cubbin hypothesizes, this replacement was probably associated with the compilation of the D-text in the household of Ealdred, bishop of Worcester (1046–61) and archbishop of York (1061–69, but retaining some uncanonical interest in Worcester).<sup>18</sup> The record and transmission over the years of (possibly) the original terms used for the agreement is not too difficult to accept given its importance and the fact that it represents ‘one of the most significant Scandinavian-English contacts (certainly in the SWM [South-West Midlands])’.<sup>19</sup> It is also likely that the reference to ‘Eadgares lage’ in 1018D was included during the same period.<sup>20</sup> Again, from a chronological perspective, the use of these terms should not be associated with the annals under discussion, but rather with the lexical choices in 1064–79D, on which see below.

The terminus ad quem for the composition of the Chronicle of Æthelred and Cnut is provided by the manuscript of the C-text, London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B I, which, with the exception of a twelfth-century addition, was written by several hands of the mid-eleventh century.<sup>21</sup> Although the annals dealing with the reigns of the two kings do not represent a unified text,<sup>22</sup> those associated with the reign of Æthelred do, and Keynes hypothesizes that they are likely to have been composed at one time between 1016 and 1023 (probably in 1016–17).<sup>23</sup> The

<sup>16</sup> ‘Affirmed their friendship there’, 1016C(E); ‘became partners and pledged brothers’, 1016D.

<sup>17</sup> Despite some suggestions in favour of the Norse derivation of OE *wedbroðor* (cf. OIc. *veðbróðir* ‘plighted brother, confederate’), there is no reason to think of a foreign rather than a native derivation for the term. See further Matthew Townend, *Language and History in Viking Age England: Linguistic Relations between Speakers of Old Norse and Old English*, Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 6 (Turnhout, 2002), p. 7, n. 4.

<sup>18</sup> Cubbin, *MS D*, pp. lxxviii and lxxix.

<sup>19</sup> Richard Dance, *Words Derived from Old Norse in Early Middle English: Studies in the Vocabulary of the South-West Midland Texts*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 246 (Tempe, 2003), p. 192, n. 12. On the agreement, see M. K. Lawson, *Cnut: The Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century* (London, 1993), p. 20.

<sup>20</sup> See Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1: *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), p. 131.

<sup>21</sup> See O’Brien O’Keeffe, *MS C*, p. xxvi, with references.

<sup>22</sup> See Conner, *Abingdon Chronicle*, pp. liii–lvi, with references.

<sup>23</sup> Simon Keynes, ‘The Declining Reputation of King Æthelred the Unready’, in *Æthelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference*, ed. by David Hill, BAR British Series, 59 (Oxford, 1978), pp. 227–53 (pp. 231 and 245, n. 19).

place of composition of these annals remains unclear, with Abingdon, Canterbury, London, and Ramsey having been suggested as possible options.<sup>24</sup>

Besides the social term *eorl*,<sup>25</sup> the annals record seven Norse-derived legal terms and one term belonging to the semantic fields of nautical and warfare activities:<sup>26</sup> *husting* 'indoor meeting; tribunal', *grīð* 'peace, truce', *grīðian* 'to make a truce or peace', *sammæle* 'agreed, accordant', *seht* 'agreement, settlement', *scegð* 'vessel, ship', *utlah* 'outlawed', and *utlagian* 'to outlaw' (cf. OIc. *húsping* 'council, meeting', *grīð* 'truce, peace', *sammála* 'agreeing', *sátt* / *sætt* 'settlement, agreement', *skeið* 'swift-sailing war-ship', and *útlagr* 'outlawed').<sup>27</sup> The annals are, therefore, a good example of the significant presence of legal Norse-derived terms in Old English

<sup>24</sup> See Pauline Stafford, 'The Reign of Æthelred II: A Study in the Limitations on Royal Policy and Action', in *Ethelred the Unready*, ed. by Hill, pp. 15–46 (pp. 16 and 38, n. 7); Dumville, 'Some Aspects', p. 27, with references; Conner, *Abingdon Chronicle*, p. lvi; and O'Brien O'Keeffe, *MS C*, p. lxxiii, with references.

<sup>25</sup> OE *eorl* is recorded in 992CDE, 1013CDE, 1016CDE, and 1020CDEF.

<sup>26</sup> Other terms and structures have also been suggested to be Norse-derived; that etymological explanation is, however, problematic. On OE *bregdan hine seocne* 'to pretend to be sick' (1003CDE; cf. OIc. *bregða sér sjúkum* 'to pretend to be sick'), see Hofmann, *Nordisch-englische Lehnbeziehungen der Wikingerzeit*, §303. On *fere* 'able to go, fit for military service' (1016CDE; cf. OIc. *fierr* 'able to go, fit for use'), see Frank Heidermanns, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der germanischen Primäradjektive*, *Studia Linguistica Germanica*, 33 (Berlin, 1993), pp. 205–06; and *Old Frisian Etymological Dictionary*, ed. by Dirk Boutkan and Sjoerd Michiel Siebinga, Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionaries, 1 (Leiden, 2005), *s.v. fere* 1. On *upgang* 'landing, going inland' (1009CDE; cf. OIc. *uppganga* 'ascent, landing-place'), see Pons-Sanz, 'Norse-Derived Terms and Structures in *The Battle of Maldon*', pp. 425–26. The use of OE *yld* with the meaning 'old people, elders' rather than 'age, period' (1004CE; cf. OIc. *öld* 'time, age; poet. men, people') can be associated, rather than with Norse usage, with the fact that OE *geogop* 'youth' could also be used with a collective meaning; see Bosworth Toller, *s.v. geogop*, sense II. Alternatively, it could be understood as a semantic loan from OE *eald*; see DOE, *s.v. eald*, senses I.A.1.d, II.B.1, II.B.3, and III.B.1.b. Yet another possibility is to identify the collective meaning of OE *yld* as a semantic loan from L *senectus*, a term frequently rendered by OE *yld* which could mean both 'old age' and 'old men'; see *A Latin Dictionary Founded on Andrew's Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary*, ed. by Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford, 1879), *s.v. senectus*.

<sup>27</sup> OE *husting* is attested in 1012CDEF, *grīð* in 1002CDE, 1004CDEF, 1006CDE, and 1011CDE, *grīðian* in 1016CDE, *sammæle* in 1018CDEF, *seht* in 1016CEF (cf. 1016D), *scegð* in 1008CDEF, *utlah* in 1014 CD (cf. OE *utlagede* in 1014EF), and *utlagian* in 1020CDE and 1021CDEF. In 1002CDE OE *grīð* collocates with OE *settan* 'to set, form, settle', a phrase which has been suggested to be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *setja grīð* 'to establish a truce'). However, OE *settan* also collocates with OE *sibb* 'peace' and *frið* 'peace, truce'. Thus, the collocation in the 1002-annal seems to reflect rather an old collocation where the direct object has been replaced by the Norse-derived term.

texts. The initial use of these terms would have been the result of the presence of a new Scandinavian ruling class, who made administrative and legal decisions in the Danelaw affecting both the newcomers and the native inhabitants, and who had political and economic dealings with neighbours outside the Danelaw. As Dance points out, this situation ‘must have necessitated a great deal of new or freshly adapted terminology in order for those on both sides to keep up’ (cf. the use of OE *feolaga* in 1016D).<sup>28</sup>

Nonetheless, the presence of these terms in the annals does not necessarily imply close Anglo-Scandinavian linguistic contact in their area of composition and, therefore, cannot help us to determine their origin. In particular, they cannot be used as evidence in favour of an attribution to Ramsey, a house in Huntingdonshire, which Hart includes in what he calls the ‘outer Danelaw’.<sup>29</sup> Admittedly, the Norse-derived terms in these annals are used very differently from those in the earlier entries. The familiarity of the chronicler(s) with these terms can be seen through two facts: on the one hand, except for two terms (OE *eorl* and *husting*), the Norse-derived vocabulary is not specifically associated with the Scandinavian newcomers (and hence treated as representing an alien culture); and, on the other hand, some of the terms participate in word-formation processes not motivated by stylistic constraints. However, as shown below, all the terms in this section, except for OE *husting* and perhaps *seht*, have previously been recorded in Old English texts which are not necessarily associated with the Scandinavianized areas and which exhibit similar linguistic trends in the use of Norse-derived terms.

By 1016–17, the OE *grið* and *lagu* word-fields had become very deeply integrated in the legal language of Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>30</sup> OE *lagu* is first recorded in the tenth-century code IV Edgar, clearly referring to the laws of the Scandinavian newcomers.<sup>31</sup> Yet, any specific association of this word-field with foreign practices

<sup>28</sup> Dance, *Words Derived from Old Norse*, p. 301.

<sup>29</sup> Hart, *The Danelaw*, pp. 10–16. On the Scandinavian presence in surrounding areas, see also above, note 5.

<sup>30</sup> *Word-field* is used in this paper as an equivalent of *word-family*; it refers to the group of terms comprising a simplex and all the complexes which have the simplex either as the base (in derivatives) or one of the roots (in compounds). OE *utlah*/*utlaga* and *utlagian* (and, hence, OE *inlagian*; see below) are not directly related to OE *lagu* from an etymological perspective; however, the terms seem to have been associated in the minds of the Anglo-Saxons. See Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary*, p. 80, with references.

<sup>31</sup> All the references to law-codes in this paper follow *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Felix Liebermann (Halle, 1903–16).

seems to have disappeared by the time of composition of Æthelred's initial codes; thus, OE *utlah* occurs various times in an Æthelredian code said to have been issued at Woodstock 'æfter Engla lage' (I Æthelred 0.2).<sup>32</sup> Given the problems involved in dating II Edmund 7.1,<sup>33</sup> it may be the case that III Æthelred, a code associated with the Danelaw Five Boroughs and dated c. 997, records the first uses of OE *grið*.<sup>34</sup> This could also be said to point towards an initial association of the term with the Scandinavian settlers. However, as in the previous case, it is difficult to find any traces of this possible association in the eleventh century. OE *lagu* and *grið* and their expanding word-fields feature very prominently in Wulfstan's works, which played a very significant role in the Anglo-Saxons' familiarization with the terms and the semantic widening from a legal to a religious sphere which they underwent when integrated in the Old English lexicon.<sup>35</sup>

It is also hard to claim a specific association with the Scandinavianized areas for the other Norse-derived legal terms. The adjective *sammale* is attested, not only in the Æthelredian code associated with the Five Boroughs, but also in S 1455, a charter which records an agreement between Wulfric, abbot of St Augustine's, Canterbury (fl. 993–1005), and Ealdred, son of Lyfing, about land at *Clife*, Kent.<sup>36</sup>

Even though OE *sehtan* 'to reconcile' is likely to be a native term (cf. *unsehtness* 'discord' in Vercelli Homily 15),<sup>37</sup> the simplex *seht* 'agreement' (like the adjective *seht* 'agreed, reconciled', cf. OIc. *sátttr* 'reconciled'; see below) may be Norse-derived. Even if that is the case, the noun *seht* is also recorded in S 1460, a Worcester document from 1010x23 (1023?). As with the Chronicle, the first records of the adjectival form are later: for example, in the Old English glosses to *Liber*

<sup>32</sup> 'According to the law of the English'. On Æthelred's Woodstock code, see Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 321–22.

<sup>33</sup> On II Edmund 7.1–3, see Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 310–11 and 377.

<sup>34</sup> On Æthelred's Wantage code, see Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 322–29. OE *grið* is also recorded in *The Battle of Maldon*, but the date and dialectal origin of the poem remain unclear; see Pons-Sanz, 'Norse-Derived Terms and Structures in *The Battle of Maldon*', pp. 439–44.

<sup>35</sup> See Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary*, Chapters 3, 4, and 8.

<sup>36</sup> On Æthelred's code, see Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 322 and 327; for commentary on this and the other charters cited in this paper, see *The Electronic Sawyer: An Online Version of the Revised Edition of Sawyer's 'Anglo-Saxon Charters', Section One [S 1–1602]*, prepared by S. E. Kelly and S. M. Miller (1999), <<http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww/eSawyer.99/eSawyer2.html>> [accessed 10 June 2006 to 13 September 2006].

<sup>37</sup> For an edition of the homily, see *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, ed. by Donald Scragg, EETS, OS, 300 (Oxford, 1992), pp. 253–61.

*Scintillarum*, which may be dated c. 1050 and which probably originate from Canterbury, OE *twiseht* renders L *discors* 'discordant'.<sup>38</sup>

The Norse-derived nautical term does not seem to have been very uncommon in early eleventh-century England either. Even though Ælfric renders L *pirata* 'pirate' as 'wicing oððe scegðman' in his *Grammar*,<sup>39</sup> which is fully in keeping with the fact that II Æthelred uses the same compound to refer to the Scandinavian newcomers as opposed to the native inhabitants,<sup>40</sup> OE *scegð* appears as well in S 1492, the will of Ælfwold, bishop of Crediton, which can be dated 1008x12.

The Norse-derived terms recorded in these annals cannot be used to localize a text with any reliability, but they are useful in a different respect: they show that the chronicler(s) was/were fairly familiar with the legal technoelect of early eleventh-century England.

### *The Abingdon Chronicle*

The next set of annals shared by various of the Chronicle texts form the so-called Abingdon Chronicle, 'Abingdon's contribution to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle via MS. C'.<sup>41</sup> As in the case of the Chronicle of Æthelred and Cnut, the date of the C-manuscript offers a terminus ad quem for the composition of the annals.<sup>42</sup> Conner suggests that the 'bulk of the Chronicle could have been copied in 1043',<sup>43</sup> while the annals from 1043 to 1048 seem to have been copied more or less contemporaneously with the events;<sup>44</sup> the update for the period from 1049 to 1056 was probably added at one time, and the annals for 1065 and 1066 are likely to have

<sup>38</sup> See Ker, no. 256; and *Die 'Regularis Concordia' und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion*, ed. by Lucia Kornexl, Münchener Universitäts-Schriften, 17 (Munich, 1993), p. ccxxxiii. For an edition of the Old English glosses, see Sarah Sovereign Getty, 'An Edition with Commentary of the Latin/Anglo-Saxon *Liber scintillarum*' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1969).

<sup>39</sup> For an edition of Ælfric's grammar, see *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, ed. by Julius Zupitza, Sammlung englischer Denkmälen in kritischen Ausgaben, 1 (Berlin, 1880).

<sup>40</sup> See Christine Fell, 'Old English *wicing*: A Question of Semantics', *PBA*, 72 (1986), 295–316 (p. 302).

<sup>41</sup> Conner, *Abingdon Chronicle*, p. lvi.

<sup>42</sup> See O'Brien O'Keeffe, *MS C*, pp. xxvi–xxxviii, with references.

<sup>43</sup> Conner, *Abingdon Chronicle*, p. lxii.

<sup>44</sup> Conner, *Abingdon Chronicle*, p. lx.

been written shortly after 1066.<sup>45</sup> Accordingly, the use of most of the terms discussed in this section could be dated *c.* 1040x70.

The exact list of annals comprised in the Abingdon Chronicle remains unclear. In fact, Conner, the editor of the reconstructed text, does not discard Dumville's suggestion that the final section of the Chronicle of Æthelred and Cnut (the 1017–22 annals) may actually be the beginning of a new section, possibly attributable to Abingdon, and includes the entries for these annals from the C-text, recording *eorl*, *sammale*, and *utlagian*, in his edition.<sup>46</sup> These annals are not the only ones to raise the editor's doubts. He points out that, as far as the 1049–56 annals are concerned, 'an argument can be made to attribute the addition entirely to non-Abingdon influences, because of the lack of specific Abingdon coloration [*sic*]'.<sup>47</sup> To simplify matters, this paper takes the Abingdon Chronicle to comprise the text edited by Conner, with the final annals discussed as part of the Chronicle of Æthelred and Cnut being a problematic case. The origin of the annals in this section of the Chronicle is likewise disputed, with Canterbury having been presented as an alternative to Abingdon as the place of composition.<sup>48</sup> In either case, there is no reason to attribute to these annals an origin in a Scandinavianized area.

Composition in a house outside the direct linguistic influence of speakers of Old Norse is certainly not at odds with the evidence of most of the Norse-derived terms recorded in the annals at hand. Many of the terms can be placed in one of the following groups: (1) terms which are used following their full integration in the Old English lexicon in previous years; and (2) terms which reflect economic, political, and military changes that took place around the time of composition. The members of the OE *lagu* (*inlagian* 'to reverse sentence of outlawry', *lagu*, *unlagu* 'bad law, injustice', and *utlagian*) and *grīð* word-fields (*grīð*, *grīðian*) are the main components of the first group; the noun and adjective OE *seht* should also be included here.<sup>49</sup> The OE *eorl* word-field could be associated with both groups: soon after Cnut's division of the country into four parts (see 1017CDEF), OE *eorl* as a

<sup>45</sup> Conner, *Abingdon Chronicle*, pp. lxiii and lxviii.

<sup>46</sup> Dumville, 'Some Aspects', p. 26; Conner, *Abingdon Chronicle*, pp. lvi–lvii and 9–10.

<sup>47</sup> Conner, *Abingdon Chronicle*, p. lxvi.

<sup>48</sup> O'Brien O'Keeffe, *MS C*, pp. lxxiv–xcii, with references.

<sup>49</sup> OE *inlagian* is recorded in 1055C(D), *lagu* in 1052C(D), *unlagu* in 1052C(D) and 1065C and *utlagian* (besides in 1020C(DE) and 1021C(DE)) in 1046C (1047D), 1052C(D), 1055C(DE), and 1065C. OE *grīð* is attested in 1041C(D), 1052C(D), and 1055C, and OE *grīðian* in 1066C. OE *seht* as a noun can be found in 1056C and 1065C, while the adjective is used in 1052C.

synonym of OE *ealdormann* lost its exclusive association (evident in previous Chronicle annals: see above) with the Scandinavian newcomers and the inhabitants of the Scandinavianized areas.<sup>50</sup> The semantic expansion undergone by the simplex is, not surprisingly, also represented by the derivative OE *eorldom* 'earldom, rank of an earl' (cf. OIc. *jarldómr* 'earldom').<sup>51</sup>

The following words can be placed in the second group of Norse-derived terms:

(1) Although neither in 1041C(D) nor in 1065C is OE *huscarl* (cf. OIc. *húskarl* 'man-servant, a man in the king's body-guard') associated with Cnut, the term is likely to have been introduced in Old English as a reference to Cnut's aristocratic followers and courtiers.<sup>52</sup> Thus, its attestation in S 969, a document from 1033 recording a grant of land in Horton, Dorset, by Cnut, points already in the direction of later uses: it refers to someone associated with the royal household who, like the post-1017 *eorl*, does not necessarily operate in Scandinavianized areas.

(2) OE *liðsmann* 'seafarer, pirate; member of a military force serving by sea and (possibly) land' (cf. OIc. *liðsmaðr* 'follower, warrior'), attested in 1050C (see below), is first recorded in Old English texts in 1036E, where the people referred to are presented as a military body significant enough to be represented at a meeting in Oxford during the succession dispute following Cnut's death. The reference in 1036E indicates that they served during Cnut's reign, which has led to suggestions that it may have been this king who instituted the military body. Such suggestions have to account for the fact that 1012CDEF records that Æthelred took into his service forty-five Scandinavian ships, which may lead us to think that the standing army or fleet existed before Cnut's reign.<sup>53</sup> Yet, the term OE *liðsmann* itself, like OE *huscarl*, may have been introduced from Cnut's court, where, as suggested by

<sup>50</sup> On this change, see Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary*, pp. 176–81.

<sup>51</sup> OE *eorl* is recorded (mainly, but not exclusively, as a title accompanying a personal name) in 1030C, 1037C(D), 1039C, 1041C, 1044C(EF), 1046C, 1048C, 1049C(1050D), 1050C, 1051C, 1052C(D), 1053C(DEF), 1054C(D), 1055C(DEF), 1056C(D), 1065C(D and 1064E), and 1066C(D and 1066E). OE *eorldom* is attested in 1052C(D), 1053C(DEF), 1065C, and 1066C.

<sup>52</sup> See N. A. Hooper, 'The Housecarls in England in the Eleventh Century', *ANS*, 7 (1984), 161–76 (pp. 170–71). The exact function of this body of men remains unclear, though; see Lawson, *Cnut*, pp. 179–84. The close association of the term with the royal household may have led to its replacement with OE *hiredmann* 'retainer, follower' in 1065D = 1064E because those mentioned in the annal serve, not the king, but Earl Tostig.

<sup>53</sup> See Hooper, 'Housecarls in England', p. 170; Lawson, *Cnut*, p. 117; and N. A. Hooper, 'Military Developments in the Reign of Cnut', in *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. by Alexander R. Rumble (London, 1994), pp. 89–100 (pp. 97–99).

the existence of Scandinavian courtiers, Old Norse most likely had a significant presence.<sup>54</sup> Interestingly, Norse-derived terms are used not only to refer to this military body, formed mainly by Scandinavians, but also to describe their service or rather their dismissal and payment. Furthermore, some of those Norse-derived terms and structures do not seem to have been particularly common. 1049C records the only attestation of the structure OE *scylian of male* 'to discharge from service' (cf. OIc. *skilja af máli* 'to terminate a relationship of service'), while 1050C expresses the same meaning with the structure OE *settan of male* (cf. OE *settan* 'to lay, put, place' and OIc. *máli* 'contract, agreement, wages').<sup>55</sup> That OE *scylian of male* may not have been widely used is suggested not only by its absence from 1050C, but also by the fact that 1047E, which refers to the dismissal mentioned in 1049C,<sup>56</sup> uses instead an expression more similar to that in 1050C, OE *settan ut*, itself fairly uncommon (we would have expected to find a prepositional phrase with *of* indicating what or where they were dismissed from; cf. 'hi woldon þone cyng gesettan ut of Englelandes cynedome' in 1075E).<sup>57</sup> 1049C, 1050C, and 1055C (see below) are the only Old English contexts recording OE *mal* with the same meaning as OIc. *máli*, while its Middle English reflex with the similar meanings 'payment, tribute, rent' is used mainly in texts associated with the East Midlands and the North.<sup>58</sup> In 1040C(D) (cf. 1039E) we are told about the payment to the *liðsmenn*: the money is counted in marks (OE *marc*; cf. OIc. *mörk* 'by weight or value, = eight ounces'), a usage which is in keeping with the fact that during Cnut's reign the mark became the normal unit of weight for both gold and silver.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>54</sup> See Roberta Frank, 'King Cnut in the Verse of his Skalds', in *Reign of Cnut*, ed. by Rumble, pp. 106–24; and Matthew Townend, 'Contextualizing the *Knútsdrápur*: Skaldic Praise-Poetry at the Court of Cnut', *ASE*, 30 (2001), 145–79 (pp. 164–72).

<sup>55</sup> OE *settan of* 'to remove from', which is also recorded in 1043C with OE *bisceoprice* 'bishopric', has also been analysed as Norse-derived (OIc. *setja af* 'to depose'). However, given that OE *settan* meaning 'to appoint' collocates very frequently with a prepositional phrase introduced by *to* and that OE *of* commonly means 'removal, separation or privation', the development of OE *settan of* as an antonym of OE *settan to* could easily have taken place by native means (cf. OE *asettan of* 'to depose of, remove from'); see Bosworth Toller, *s.vv.* *settan*, sense X, and *of*, sense VII.

<sup>56</sup> It is thanks to 1047E that we know that the ships dismissed in 1049C are also associated with the *liðsmenn*.

<sup>57</sup> 'They wanted to put the king out of the kingdom of England.'

<sup>58</sup> See *MED*, *s.v.* *mōl*, n. 2, sense a.

<sup>59</sup> See Pamela Nightingale, 'The Evolution of Weight-Standards and the Creation of New Monetary and Commercial Links in Northern Europe from the Tenth Century to the Twelfth Century', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 38 (1985), 192–209 (pp. 196–201).

More importantly, we are told that eight marks are paid ‘æt hamelan’;<sup>60</sup> this phrase is likely to represent the Viking-Age Norse equivalent of OIc. *til hömlu* ‘per rowing space’ (cf. OIc. *hamla* ‘oar-loop’, a term which seems to have been transferred to refer to the space for the oarsman and later, possibly, to a group of men).<sup>61</sup> This is the only occurrence of the term in English texts.

We can only speculate about the use of such uncommon terminology in association with this military body. One possibility is that this terminology, like the use of OE *liðsmann* and *huscarl*, may have spread from Cnut’s court. Interestingly, 1039E tells us that the amount paid *æt hamelan* follows the practice during Cnut’s reign, and the terminology may have followed the practice. In 1018CDE we are told that some of the ships serving under Cnut went back to Denmark; Cnut may have said that he wanted *scylian* them *of male*, but the short account in the Chronicle of Æthelred and Cnut does not allow us to have an insight into the terminology used. When thinking about the possibility of transmission of such specific phrases from the court, we need to remember, on the one hand, that the court would have still been itinerant during Cnut’s reign,<sup>62</sup> and, on the other hand, that documents originating from the court would have been sent to other areas of the country, where they are likely to have had a lexical impact. Two contexts from the Chronicle involving Norse-derived terms could further exemplify such impact:

(2.a) 1025E records OE *holm*, not with its common meaning ‘wave, sea’, but with the Norse-derived meaning ‘small island in a river’ (cf. OIc. *holmr* ‘islet’). The term is used in the following context referring to one of Cnut’s battles in Scandinavia: ‘to þam holme æt ea þære halgan’,<sup>63</sup> which, as noted by Hofmann, mirrors the Norse construction *á in halga* ‘river Helgeá’ (Sweden).<sup>64</sup> This construction is recorded, amongst other contexts, in stanza 11 of *Knútsdrápa*,<sup>65</sup> a poem attributed to the eleventh-century Icelandic skald Óttarr svarti, who may have composed his

<sup>60</sup> ‘By rowlock’.

<sup>61</sup> See Judith Jesch, *Ships and Men in the Late Viking Age: The Vocabulary of Runic Inscriptions and Skaldic Verse* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 156–57 and 172; and Katrin Thier, *Altenglische Terminologie für Schiffe und Schiffsteile: Archäologie und Sprachgeschichte 500–1100*, BAR International Series, 1036 (Oxford, 2002), pp. 106 and 136.

<sup>62</sup> See Townend, ‘Contextualizing the *Knútsdrápur*’, p. 166, with references.

<sup>63</sup> ‘To the island at the Holy River’.

<sup>64</sup> Hofmann, *Nordisch-englische Lehnbeziehungen der Wikingerzeit*, §333.

<sup>65</sup> For the text of the poem with an English translation, see *English and Norse Documents Relating to the Reign of Ethelred the Unready*, ed. by M. Ashdown (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 136–39.

work in England.<sup>66</sup> Regardless of whether stanza 11 was originally part of the poem or was independently composed during the skald's service at Cnut's court,<sup>67</sup> the E-annal could have drawn its information from a source originating from the royal household where the terminology used followed Norse rather than English lexical practices.

(2.b) The wording in II Cnut 15.1 ('se ðe unlage rære oððe undom gedeme heonon forð') seems to have provided the model (and basis for further development) for 'ealle Francisce men þe ær unlage rærdon 7 undom demdon, 7 unræd ræddon into ðissum earde' in 1052C(D).<sup>68</sup>

Indeed, it was important to be told about payments to the Scandinavian troops and their dismissal because such issues would have had a significant impact on taxation. Just as it is relatively easy to see how the location of a battle in Sweden may have been referred to in Norse-derived terms, we could also envisage a scenario explaining the use of Norse-derived terms to describe the dealings of an Anglo-Scandinavian court with what would have started as a military body mainly made up by Scandinavians.

Alternatively, if the annals of the Abingdon Chronicle are actually attributed to Canterbury, where 1023–41E are likely to have been composed as well,<sup>69</sup> familiarity with the terminology may have developed thanks to contact with members of the fleet themselves, Sandwich being one of the most important ports in eleventh-century England.<sup>70</sup> However, these suggestions are, needless to say, purely speculative, and the use of some of these uncommon terms and structures in annals from a non-Scandinavianized area remains an interesting feature somewhat hard to account for. In any case, we need to remember that all of them belong to the nautical, administrative, and legal semantic fields; they are, therefore, technical terms, rather than terms belonging to everyday usage, which would argue in favour of a rather different kind of Anglo-Scandinavian linguistic contact.

OE *liðsmann* would have been easily analysable as 'a man associated with or belonging to a *lið*', as suggested by the attestation of the simplex OE *lið* 'fleet, troop'

<sup>66</sup> See Hofmann, *Nordisch-englische Lehnbeziehungen der Wikingerzeit*, §§71–72; and Frank, 'King Cnut in the Verse of his Skalds', pp. 108–09.

<sup>67</sup> See Townend, 'Contextualizing the *Knútsdrápur*', pp. 159–61.

<sup>68</sup> 'He who henceforth promotes injustice or pronounces unjust judgements', II Cnut 15.1; 'all the French men who earlier promoted illegality and passed unjust judgments and counselled bad counsel in this country', 1052C(D). See further Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary*, pp. 234–35.

<sup>69</sup> See Irvine, *MS E*, p. lxxv.

<sup>70</sup> See Hofmann, *Nordisch-englische Lehnbeziehungen der Wikingerzeit*, §334.

in 1052C(D), 1055C, and 1066C(D),<sup>71</sup> and the compound *sciplið* ‘fleet’ in 1055C; neither term is used in connection with Scandinavian troops. Similarly, even though OE *mal* may initially have been associated with service by and payment of Scandinavian warriors, we next encounter it in 1055C, in connection with a fleet of Irish ships gathered by Earl Ælfgar. Once the terms had become integrated in the Old English lexicon, their association with the Scandinavian newcomers seems to have been quickly eroded.

(3) Following the final dismissal of the *liðsmenn* recorded in 1050C, we find a reference to the *butsecarlas* in 1052C(D) and 1066C(D). The compound OE *butsecarl* ‘boatman’ is made up by the noun of a ship type of unknown etymology (cf. ML *buza*, *bucia*, OIc. *búza*, OHG *bûzo*) + *carl* (cf. OIc. *karl* ‘man’; > AN *bucekarl* ‘seaman’). Like OE *lið* and *sciplið*, which, despite probably deriving from OE *liðsmann*, do not have a clear association with the Scandinavian newcomers, OE *butsecarl*, in spite of having probably been modelled on OE *huscarl*, is not associated with Scandinavian troops. Instead, the term may refer to ‘the inhabitants of the maritime towns of Kent and Sussex, some of whom owed naval service to the king and whose obligations would later lead to the Cinque Ports organisation’.<sup>72</sup> The term is therefore likely to represent somewhat common current usage, which is also recorded in the Domesday Book.<sup>73</sup>

The annals under consideration also attest other terms which cannot be easily associated with either of the aforementioned groups:

(1) *Gersum(a)* ‘jewel, costly thing, treasure’ (cf. OIc. *gersemi* / *gørsemi* / *gersimi* / *gørsimi* ‘costly thing, treasure’), which may have been first attested in Old English texts in 1035C(D), soon became a very common term in the Chronicle, which records most of its occurrences during the Old English period;<sup>74</sup> it is therefore not

<sup>71</sup> 1055D records OE *genge* ‘company, troop’ instead of OE *lið*; the term is also attested in 1043D. Both cases are likely to represent a later textual layer, possibly associated with the compilation of the D-text; on the presence of the term, which may be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *gengi* ‘help, company’), in early Middle English texts from the South-West Midlands, see Dance, *Words Derived from Old Norse*, pp. 354 and 422–23.

<sup>72</sup> N. A. Hooper, ‘Some Observations on the Navy in Late Anglo-Saxon England’, in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill, Christopher J. Holdsworth, and Janet L. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 203–13 (p. 207).

<sup>73</sup> See DB: *Wiltshire*, B5.

<sup>74</sup> E.g. 1043C ‘nam of hire eall þæt heo ahte on golde 7 on seolfre 7 on unascegendlicum þingum’ (took from her all that she owned in gold, in silver and in untold things) is summarized in 1043D as ‘berefedan hi æt eallo þan garsaman þe heo ahte, þa wæron unatellendlice’ (they

surprising to find it again in 1065C. The term occurs as well not only in 1047E, an annal which may originate from Canterbury,<sup>75</sup> but also in the Old English version of an eighth-century grant of privileges by Pope Sergius I to Abbot Aldhelm and the abbeys of Malmesbury and Frome, Wiltshire, recorded in a manuscript which may have Malmesbury provenance (London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho C I, fol. 68) in a hand of the middle of the eleventh century.<sup>76</sup> These attestations suggest that the term is likely to have enjoyed some familiarity (at least in some circles) in non-Scandinavianized areas by the time of composition of 1035C. Raids, political agreements, and commercial exchanges would all have offered plenty of opportunities for the term to be used in Anglo-Scandinavian conversations.

(2) In 1052C(D) OE *healdan* is used intransitively with the specialized meaning 'to steer a ship, travel' (cf. OIc. *halda*, which commonly occurs together with an adverb of direction in references to keeping a ship on a course).<sup>77</sup> This usage is otherwise only recorded during the Old English period in the northern annals discussed in the next section.

(3) OE *nīðing* 'wretch, villain, coward' (cf. OIc. *nīðingr* 'villain, scoundrel; apostate'), attested in 1049C, is otherwise only recorded, as far as the Old English period is concerned, in Walreaf, a legal code of unknown origin and date.<sup>78</sup> Yet, the derivative OE *unniðing* 'honest man (not an outlaw)' (cf. OIc. *úniðingr* 'unvillainous') is recorded in 1087E, an annal whose exact origin is also unknown, but which seems to be southern rather than northern.<sup>79</sup>

Early Middle English texts from the South-West and South-East Midlands do record both the Middle English reflexes of OE *healdan* with the specialized meaning and OE *nīðing*, which is also recorded in Kentish texts.<sup>80</sup> While this could be interpreted as a sign that these technical terms had wider use (at least in some circles) in late Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman England than the extant sources would allow us to infer, the Middle English attestations could also be

robbed her from all the treasures which she owned, which were untold). This replacement, which is not paralleled in the E-text, could be attributable to the time of compilation of the D-text.

<sup>75</sup> See Irvine, *MS E*, pp. lxxv–lxxvi.

<sup>76</sup> See Ker, no. 181, item 2; and *CS*, I, no. 106 at pp. 154–56.

<sup>77</sup> On the Norse usage, see Jesch, *Ships and Men in the Late Viking Age*, pp. 174–75.

<sup>78</sup> See Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 371–72.

<sup>79</sup> See Dumville, 'Some Aspects', pp. 35 and 38; and Irvine, *MS E*, p. lxxxiii.

<sup>80</sup> See *MED*, s.vv. *hōlden*, sense 21.a, and *nīþing*; and Dance, *Words Derived from Old Norse*, p. 370.

attributed to a later increase in the use of the terms, to which 'official' texts, including the texts of the Chronicle themselves, may have contributed.<sup>81</sup>

To the aforementioned terms we may want to add *brunie* in 1066C. It is recorded in the twelfth-century addition to the final part of the annal, an addition whose reliability is hard to assess.<sup>82</sup> It is therefore not clear whether the term under consideration represents the Norse-derived OE *brynige* 'coat of mail' (cf. OIc. *brynja* 'coat of mail'; contrast OE *byrne* 'coat of mail') or, given that the scribe may have had French rather than English as his / her mother tongue,<sup>83</sup> OFr. *bruine* 'corselet', itself also a Norse-derived term. Even though the earliest attestations of OE *brynige* (S 1531 and S 1537) are exclusively associated with Scandinavianized areas, we may infer that the term was more widely used in the second half of the eleventh century from the fact that OE *healsbrynige* 'corselet' renders L *thorax* 'breast-plate' in London, British Library, MS Royal 6 B VII, a late eleventh-century manuscript from Exeter.<sup>84</sup> Such a suggestion, which would be in keeping with the martial character of the term, may also be supported by its attestations in early Middle English texts from the South-West and South-East Midlands,<sup>85</sup> as well as in one of the so-called *Vespasian Homilies*, which have Southern morphology and Kentish phonology and which may originate from Rochester.<sup>86</sup> Yet, as noted above, this use of later evidence to throw light on an earlier linguistic situation is not free from problems.

In a nutshell, other than some specialized expressions associated with the service of the *liðsmenn* (OE *scylian of male*, (*settan of*) *male*, and (*æt*) *hamele*), the annals of this section of the Chronicle record terms which had already become integrated in the Old English lexicon well before the annals were composed (OE *lagu*, *grið*, and *seht* word-fields), terms which were becoming well established around the time when the annals were composed (OE *eorl* and *lið* word-fields, *buscarl*, *marc*,

<sup>81</sup> See Dance, *Words Derived from Old Norse*, pp. 189–92 and 300–04.

<sup>82</sup> See Conner, *Abingdon Chronicle*, p. lxix.

<sup>83</sup> See C. Talbut Onions, 'Some Early Middle English Spellings', *MLR*, 4 (1908–09), 505–07 (pp. 505–06). On the linguistic features of the scribe, see further O'Brien O'Keeffe, *MS C*, pp. cx–cxii.

<sup>84</sup> See *Aldhelmi Malmesbiriensis Prosa de virginitate cum Glosa Latina atque Anglosaxonica*, ed. by Scott Gwara, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 124 and 124a (Turnhout, 2001), 124, pp. 113–22.

<sup>85</sup> See *MED*, s.v. *brinie*; and Dance, *Words Derived from Old Norse*, p. 344.

<sup>86</sup> See Mary P. Richards, 'MS Cotton Vespasian A.XXII: The Vespasian Homilies', *Manuscripta*, 22 (1978), 97–103.

*butsecarl*, and *gærsum(a)*), and terms whose familiarity in late Anglo-Saxon or early Anglo-Norman England might be hinted at by later attestations (OE *brynige?*, *niðing*, and *healdan*).<sup>87</sup>

### *Northern Annals in the Late Eleventh Century*

The entries for the years 1064–80 in the D- and E-texts show a clear interest in northern affairs. This seems to suggest that a set of northern annals of unknown origin lies behind the account for these years,<sup>88</sup> although other sources have also had a clear impact on the accounts.<sup>89</sup> The examination of the terms which should be associated with the suggested northern annals is greatly complicated by the apparent presence of various layers of textual reworking, in some cases very difficult to disentangle. Two cases of later alterations are reasonably clear.

<sup>87</sup> The Norse derivation of the OE *fere* word-field (1055C(D)), as well as the phrases OE *settan grið* (1052C(D)) and *settan of* (1043C and 1050C) has already been rejected; see above notes 26, 27, and 55. OE *fylcian* ‘to arrange, draw up, marshal (troops for battle)’, which is only recorded in 1066C(D), has been associated with OIc. *fylkja* ‘to draw up (troops)’. Admittedly, we would not expect to find an *i*-mutated root vowel in a Class II weak verb; see Alistair Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959), §§754–56. However, the verb could be explained as a native late Old English new-formation on the basis of OE *gefylce* ‘troop, band, army’ (cf. the synonymous OHG *fulken*), Class II being the largest and most productive class of weak verbs in Old English; see Detlef Stark, *The Old English Weak Verbs: A Diachronic and Synchronic Analysis*, Linguistische Arbeiten, 112 (Tübingen, 1982), p. 16. Old English speakers would not have found the presence of the *i*-mutated vowel strange because weak Class I ‘W-S [West Saxon] verbs with an originally short root syllable have a strong tendency to join the second weak class’; Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §752; cf. Stark, *Old English Weak Verbs*, Chapter 4. OE *scipian* / *scypian* with the meaning ‘to put in order, man or equip a ship’ (1052C(D)) has also been considered to be Norse-derived (cf. OIc. *skipa* ‘to arrange, place in order; occupy; to equip, man [a ship]’); see, however, Hans Peters, ‘Zum skandinavischen Lehnwort im Altenglischen’, *Sprachwissenschaft*, 6 (1981), 85–124 (pp. 115–16).

<sup>88</sup> See Irvine, *MS E*, pp. lxxxii–lxxxiv; and Pauline Stafford, ‘Chronicle D, 1067, and Women: Gendering Conquest in Eleventh-Century England’, in *Anglo-Saxons: Studies Presented to Cyril Roy Hart*, ed. by Simon Keynes and Alfred P. Smyth (Dublin, 2006), pp. 208–23 (pp. 211–12).

<sup>89</sup> For instance, 1067D has a Hereford notice next to information on Scottish affairs; see Cubbin, *MS D*, p. lxxiii. This notice, where OE *unseht* ‘disagreeing, hostile’ (cf. OIc. *úsáttir* ‘disagreeing, unreconciled’) is recorded, further exemplifies familiarity with the *seht* word-field in early Anglo-Norman Worcestershire. It may also be with the period of the compilation of the D-text that we should associate the presence of the noun OE *seht* in 1050D (cf. 1049C). On the significant use of the word-field in early Middle English texts from the South-West Midlands, see Dance, *Words Derived from Old Norse*, pp. 372–73.

One of those cases should be associated with the language of the Interpolations in the Peterborough Chronicle. While 1072D refers to those who turned against King William, including Hereward, simply as *hi*, 1071E emphasizes that they are *þa utlagan*.<sup>90</sup> This is just one of a series of subtle changes which show that the account was slightly altered when the text was written down in Peterborough; the emphasis on the negative portrayal of the characters is likely to derive from the fact that this house had suffered great losses at Hereward's hands. This is recorded in the 1070E Interpolation, where the Norse-derived term is applied to the attackers on three occasions.<sup>91</sup>

The other case should be assigned to a time close to the compilation of the D-text, which Cubbin would associate with Ealdred's household *c.* 1060, while Dumville would argue instead for a date after 1066.<sup>92</sup> As noted by Wormald, the reference to the renewal of *Cnutes lage* in 1065D = 1064E could be attributed to Ealdred's influence because he is likely to have been involved in the 1065 pacification affairs.<sup>93</sup> This would suggest that the compiler of *vE* had access to the work of D's compiler, a possibility which Dumville does not discard.<sup>94</sup> The use of OE *lagu* in these annals should be associated with that of various other Norse-derived terms which have been mentioned through the article both in the main body and the footnotes (for example OE *feolaga* in 1016D, *lagu* in 1018D, and *gersum(a)* in 1043D; see above, pp. 279–80, and notes 71, 74, and 89).

In other cases the superimposition of textual layers is not as easy to establish. It seems clear, though, that the northern annals are likely to have included many of the terms which have already been discussed in this article. The D- and E-texts record, not always together, the following terms: OE *eorl*, *eorldom*, *grid*, *gersum(a)*, *gridian*, *healdan*, *inlagian*, *lagian*, *lið*, *seht*, and *utlagian*.<sup>95</sup> In many cases the

<sup>90</sup> 'They', 1072D; 'the outlaws', 1071E.

<sup>91</sup> See Home, 'Peterborough Chronicle', pp. 101–07.

<sup>92</sup> Cubbin, *MS D*, p. lxxix; Dumville, 'Some Aspects', p. 34.

<sup>93</sup> Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 130–31.

<sup>94</sup> Dumville, 'Some Aspects', pp. 35–36.

<sup>95</sup> OE *eorl* is recorded in 1066D, 1067D, 1068DE, 1068D = 1069E, 1071D = 1070E, 1072D = 1071E, 1076D = 1075E, 1077D = 1076E, and 1079D, while OE *eorldom* is attested in 1065D = 1064E and 1076D = 1075E. Amongst the members of the OE *grid* word-field, *grid* itself appears in 1066D, 1067D, 1075D, and 1076D = 1075E, and *gridian* in 1068DE, 1071DE, and 1073D = 1072E. As far as the OE *lagu* word-field is concerned, we find *inlagian* in 1074E, *lagian* in 1075D, and *utlagian* in 1065D = 1064E, 1068D, and 1069E. Outside these word-fields OE *gersum(a)* is attested in 1068D, 1075D, 1076D, 1077D = 1076E, 1078D, and 1079E, *healdan* in 1071D = 1070E and 1075E, *lið* in 1068D, 1069E, and 1071D = 1070E, and *seht* in 1077E.

differences in attestation between the two texts have to do with the fact that the E-text tends to reduce many of the annals, particularly those dealing with Scottish affairs. Thus, it may not record the information in the D-text at all (e.g. 1066E has no reference to the *grið* offered by King Harold to, among others, the Norwegian King Olaf and the Earl of Orkney, recorded in 1066D; see further below); or it may include a shorter version of the information in D. An example of the latter is presented in 1069E, which summarizes the information recorded in 1068D, with OE *sceatt* 'property, treasure' being used instead of OE *gæsum(a)* and OE *lið* being added. If the D- rather than the E-text is considered to be closer to the original, the alterations recorded in the E-text are likely to have taken place before  $\sqrt{E}$  reached Peterborough, for the Waverley Annals record an entry for the year which mirrors 1069E.<sup>96</sup> Similarly, 1074E reduces 1075D very drastically; it concentrates on the reception of Edgar Ætheling at King William's court and ignores his two receptions at King Malcolm's court. With the summary, not only are various Norse-derived terms lost (e.g. OE *grið* and *gæsum(a)*; see further below), but also OE *mid micclum weorðscipe underfon* 'to receive with great honour', which appears in association with Edgar's reception at the two courts in 1075D, is replaced with OE *inlagian*. The use of the Norse-derived verb, which is also recorded in the Waverley Annals,<sup>97</sup> is fully in keeping with the facts that, because of his defiance against William, Edgar seems to have had to flee to Flanders when Malcolm made peace with the Conqueror in 1070 and that, before going to William's court, he had in fact tried to reach the court of Phillip of France, who had offered him a base whence to attack William.<sup>98</sup>

More interesting is the fact that the northern annals also seem to have included some Norse-derived terms which have not been previously attested in the Chronicle and which may have been fairly uncommon in Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman England. Two of them are recorded in both the D- and E-text:

(1) 1066D and 1066E are the only Old English contexts recording the Norse-derived OE *norren* 'Norwegian' (cf. OIc. *norraenn* 'northern' < OIc. *nordrænn*), always referring to the Norwegian Haraldr harðrádi. Interestingly, the D-text refers to him as 'Harold cyng of Norwëgon' in the context which has a parallel in 1066C, while 'Norna cynges' is used in the context which seems to rely on the northern

<sup>96</sup> *Annales monastici*, ed. by Henry Richards Luard, vol. II, RS, 36.2 (London, 1865), pp. 190–91.

<sup>97</sup> *Annales monastici*, ed. by Luard, p. 192.

<sup>98</sup> See 1073D = 1072E and 1075D = 1074E.

annals rather than the Abingdon Chronicle.<sup>99</sup> This term, which otherwise appears in English texts only in Laȝamon's *Brut*,<sup>100</sup> seems to suggest some initial familiarity with the way in which some of the newcomers would have referred to themselves.

(2) While OE *uthleapan* is only attested with the meaning 'to escape' (e.g. I Æthelred 1.7 and 1.12; cf. OE *uthleap* 'fine for a man escaping from his lord'),<sup>101</sup> OE *hleapan ut* is recorded in 1072D = 1071E with a meaning similar to *hlaupa út*, which is commonly used in Norwegian laws with the meaning 'to get out of the peace and protection granted by the social community one is immersed in and turn against its representative'. Notably, while 1072D has 'hlupon ut', 1071E places the preposition before the verb, possibly in an attempt to bring the expression closer to native usage.

In one case the D- and E-texts record two different reflexes of the same Proto-Germanic term. 1073D and 1072E agree almost word for word, except for some information lacking in the E-text and the following sentences: 'him sylf mid his landfyrde ferde inn ofer þæt wæð' in 1073D and 'his landfyrde æt þam gewæde inn læde' in 1072E.<sup>102</sup> More important than the difference in wording is the fact that 1072E records the native OE (*ge*)*wæd* 'ford, water' instead of the Norse-derived OE *wæð* (cf. OIc. *vað* 'ford, wading place'). As the translations suggest, these terms are likely to have been proper names for the Forth, the river representing the border between England and Scotland.<sup>103</sup> The D-text has a term which is likely to have been closer to the original chronicler's local usage,<sup>104</sup> while the word recorded in the E-text could be understood as an attempt to bring an uncommon term home (cf. OE *ut hleapan* in 1071E).

OE *scinn* 'skin, fur' (cf. OIc. *skinn* 'skin, fur'), attested both as a simplex and as part of the compounds OE *grascinnen* 'made of grey skins or grey fur' (cf. OIc. *gráskinn* 'grey fur') and *bearmascinnen* 'made of ermine', is only recorded in 1075D, in a context clearly deriving from the northern annals which the E-text has

<sup>99</sup> 'King Harold of Norway'; 'of the king of the Norwegians'.

<sup>100</sup> See MED, s.v. *norrene*, sense b; and Dance, *Words Derived from Old Norse*, p. 14, n. 23.

<sup>101</sup> See also MED, s.v. *lepen*, sense 4.c.

<sup>102</sup> 'He travelled himself with his land-army in over the Forth', 1073D; 'he led his land-army in at the Forth', 1072E.

<sup>103</sup> See Andrew Breeze, 'The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 1072 and the Fords of Frew, Scotland', *N&Q*, 237 (1992), 269–70; cf. OED, s.v. *wath*.

<sup>104</sup> On the important presence of the Norse term as a place-name formative in Yorkshire and Cumbria, see A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols, English Place-Name Society, 26 (Cambridge, 1956; repr. 1970), s.v. *vað*.

left out (on the relationship between 1075D and 1074E, see further below).<sup>105</sup> This term is likely to have been introduced into Old English as a result of the significant role which the Scandinavians played in the fur trade.<sup>106</sup> Thus, it is attested as part of the compound OE *berascinn* 'bear-skin' in a text without any specific association with the Scandinavianized areas: a list of gifts by Bishop Leofric of Exeter which can be dated 1069x72.<sup>107</sup> However, the two compounds attested in 1075D suggest that OE *scinn* has become so integrated in the dialect / idiolect of the northern chronicler that it has taken part in word-formation processes (compounding and derivation). The significant presence of the term in the annal is in keeping with later attestations, which seem to point towards an earlier integration of the term in the Old / Middle dialects of the Scandinavianized areas. Other than in the *Ormulum*, the common noun does not seem to have been recorded until the fourteenth century, when it first appears in a text from the South-East Midlands.<sup>108</sup> Similarly, the early uses of the term as a surname are also associated with areas with a significant presence of Scandinavian newcomers (Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire), as well as with Northumberland, an area with a less important Scandinavian presence, but which could have been influenced by the Yorkshire usage.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>105</sup> The sections dealing specifically with Scottish affairs also record other terms and expressions for which Norse origin has been suggested: OE *cweþan gea wið* 'to say yes in reply' (1067D), *scipere* 'shipman, sailor' (1075D), *unwine* 'enemy' (1075D), and *witter* 'wise' (1067D) (cf. OIc. *kveða já wið* 'to say yes in reply', *skipari* 'seaman', *úvinr* 'enemy', and *vitr* 'wise'). With regard to the first expression, we need to remember, however, that OE *cweþan gea* is otherwise attested in the *Old English Corpus* and that other Old English texts also record OE *wið* with the meaning 'in reply to', as well as in an adverbial use; see Bosworth Toller, *s.v. wiþ*, senses II.4.f and VII. On OE *scipere*, see Peters, 'Zum skandinavischen Lehngut im Altenglischen', p. 115. OE *unwine* is indeed only attested in late Old English texts (e.g. S 1519, on which see further below). However, Old English derivatives with the prefix *un-* are ubiquitous in Old English texts. On some of the problems associated with the Norse-derivation of OE *witter*, see Dance, *Words Derived from Old Norse*, pp. 442–43. These terms and expressions may have become more frequent in the Scandinavianized areas because of the presence of equivalent terms in Old Norse; whether they actually had a Norse origin is more debatable.

<sup>106</sup> See Sara M. Pons-Sanz, 'Anglo-Scandinavian Trade or Paganism? OE *hæden* in the First Cleopatra Glossary', *MLR*, 101 (2006), 625–37 (pp. 627–28).

<sup>107</sup> See *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by A. J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1939), pp. 226–31 and 473.

<sup>108</sup> See *MED*, *s.v. skin*, n. 1.

<sup>109</sup> See *MED*, *s.v. skin*, n. 1, sense 4. The Scandinavian presence in Yorkshire and the Five Boroughs has received so much attention from previous scholarship that it would be impossible to make a fair selection of secondary material. On the Scandinavian presence in northern England beyond Yorkshire, see Sara M. Pons-Sanz, *Analysis of the Scandinavian Loanwords in the Aldredian*

The D-text also exhibits a tendency towards a higher presence of foreign vocabulary in other cases. It records four Norse-derived terms for which the E-text only has native equivalents. Interestingly, these cases involve two terms which, unlike most of the other lexical items discussed so far in this article, cannot be easily associated with technical semantic fields (cf. OE *wæð*):

(1) 1066D and 1066E agree on one use of the native verb OE *gemetan* ‘to meet, encounter, fall in with’, but a few lines below this similarity is broken: 1066D records the only attestation of OE *hyttan* ‘to meet someone’ (cf. OIc. *hitta* ‘to hit upon, to meet with one’) in the equivalent, albeit longer, context where 1066E has the native verb again.

(2) While OE *tacan* ‘to take, seize’ (cf. OIc. *taka* ‘to take, catch, seize’) is recorded in 1072D, 1075D, and 1076D (twice), the equivalent annals in the E-text exhibit either OE *ateon* ‘to remove, draw, move away’ (1071E) or OE *niman* ‘to take, accept, receive’ (1074E and 1075E, which has a slightly shorter version than 1076D). Other than in the Chronicle (see further below), the verb is only recorded in Old English texts in the *Life of Saint Nicholas* (cf. OE *oftacan* ‘to overtake’ in the same text), a text which has been associated with the Danelaw, albeit not on very strong grounds.<sup>110</sup>

(3) 1075E and 1076D offer another example of the divergent use of Norse-derived terms in the E- and D-text: 1075E has OE *brydealu* ‘bride-ale’ as the equivalent of the Norse-derived OE *brydhlop* ‘ceremony of conducting a bride to her new home, wedding’ (cf. OIc. *brúðhlaup* ‘wedding, wedding feast’) in 1076D.

*Glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels*, Studies in English Language and Linguistics, 9 (Valencia, 2000), Chapter 1, with references. The use of ME *skinner* as a surname may have been more common outside the Scandinavianized areas; see Gustav Fransson, *Middle English Surnames of Occupation 1100–1350: With an Excursus on Toponymical Surnames*, Lund Studies in English, 3 (Lund, 1935), pp. 119–21.

<sup>110</sup> The text is edited and translated in *The Old English Life of St Nicholas with the Old English Life of St Giles*, ed. by Elaine M. Treharne, Leeds Texts and Monographs, n.s., 15 (Leeds, 1997), pp. 83–124. On the basis of the Norse-derived terms in the text, Walter Hofstetter, *Winchester und der spätaenglische Sprachgebrauch*, Münchener Universitäts-Schriften, 14 (Munich, 1987), pp. 143–45 and 245, localizes its origin in or around the Danelaw; cf. *Old English Life of St Nicholas*, ed. by Treharne, p. 78, who suggests ‘somewhere in the south-east’. However, Donald Edward Ahern, ‘An Edition of Two Old English Saints’ Lives: *The Life of St. Giles* and *The Life of St. Nicholas*’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Arizona, 1975), p. 37, favours the south-west, where the cult of St Nicholas was particularly important. As far as OE *tacan* is concerned, an origin in the south-west would be in keeping with the use of the verb in the D-text as well as in Dance’s corpus; see Dance, *Words Derived from Old Norse*, p. 378.

Fischer would like to associate the D-text's use of the Norse-derived term, which is otherwise only attested in Old English texts in the Northumbrian glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels and the dependent glosses to the Rushworth Gospels, with Worcestershire.<sup>111</sup> However, given that the same wedding celebration is referred to with the native term in the beginning of the two annals in a passage dominated by rhyme and alliteration ('þær wæs þæt brydealo, þæt wæs manegra manna bealo' in 1076D, cf. 1075E),<sup>112</sup> it is equally possible that the lexical replacement should be attributed to someone working on the E-text at some stage. This change would have allowed him / her to be consistent (the Waverley Annals also use one single term, viz. *L. nuptiae* 'marriage, wedding'),<sup>113</sup> to retain the ironical contrast between festivity and suffering, and to avoid the use of a term with which s/he may not have been familiar.<sup>114</sup> If we are dealing with a replacement in the E-text, the presence of a lexical alteration which could be associated with Peterborough may give us a clue about who may have been responsible for the use of the native compound: while 1076D explains that the Bretons who attended the festivity were 'fordemde' (cf. OE *fordeman* 'to sentence, convict, doom'), which is in keeping with 'judicati sunt' (cf. *L. judicare* 'to judge') in the Waverley Annals,<sup>115</sup> 1075E has 'fordyde' (cf. OE *fordon* 'to destroy, kill') instead. However, any conclusion drawn from this evidence has to remain in the realm of speculation.

(4) Similarly, 1076D is the only context attesting OE *hofding* 'chief, leader' (cf. OIc. *höfðingi* 'chief, leader'), while 1075E records OE *yldast* 'oldest' instead ('Pet wæs Roger eorl 7 Raulfe eorl þe wæron yldast to ðam unreode').<sup>116</sup> Hofmann favours the identification of the native term as a later replacement because in his view the usage is both syntactically and semantically awkward and is, therefore, unlikely to have developed free from other constraints.<sup>117</sup> Even though his suggestion is very

<sup>111</sup> Andreas Fischer, *Engagement, Wedding and Marriage in Old English*, Anglistische Forschungen, 176 (Heidelberg, 1976), p. 49. For an edition of the glosses, see *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian Versions*, ed. by Walter W. Skeat (Cambridge, 1871–87).

<sup>112</sup> 'Where the bride-ale was that was the death of many men'.

<sup>113</sup> *Annales monastici*, ed. by Luard, pp. 192–93.

<sup>114</sup> On the lack of general currency of OE *brydþlop* even in Old Northumbrian, see Fischer, *Engagement, Wedding and Marriage*, p. 50.

<sup>115</sup> *Annales monastici*, ed. by Luard, p. 193.

<sup>116</sup> 'It was Earl Roger and Earl Ralph who were the foremost in the foolish plan', in Swanton, *ASC*, p. 211, s.a. 1075.

<sup>117</sup> Hofmann, *Nordisch-englische Lehnbeziehungen der Wikingerzeit*, §390.

tempting because the term is not attested again in English texts and could therefore be interpreted as a Northernism which did not gain wide use (cf. OE *bryðblop*), it is not completely free from problems. On the one hand, Hofmann explains that the adjective normally appears with a noun, or is nominalized with an article, but it does not appear — he argues — in predicative position on its own, as is the case in the annal. Yet, the structure in 1075E is comparable to ‘se wæs setles eldest’ in Book 5 of the Old English version of Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (14.438.31) and ‘gecwýðde ðæt he wæs ieldesð ofer ða halgan cirican’ in King Alfred’s translation of Pope Gregory’s *Cura Pastoralis* (17.115.16).<sup>118</sup> On the other hand, Hofmann points out that, although the term can sometimes refer to the leader or the person with most authority, it is not commonly used to refer to the instigator of a plan. Indeed, this meaning for the term may be supported by the fact that the Waverley Annals call the leaders of the plan *consilii* (cf. L *consilium* ‘council of advisers, adviser’).<sup>119</sup> However, as suggested by Swanton’s translation, there is no reason not to interpret the nominalized adjective as meaning simply ‘chief, leader’.<sup>120</sup> Hofmann hypothesizes that the form in the E-text may in fact be that of an adverb, for OE *ærest* ‘first’ is found in a similar context (1087E). Yet, we should bear in mind that Irvine explains that Hand 1 sometimes omits inflectional endings.<sup>121</sup>

Given that the F-text, which relies very heavily on √E, ends abruptly in 1058, it is impossible to determine whether these four Norse-derived terms should be associated with the original text of the northern annals or with a later reworking. If the former is the case, the absence of the terms in the E-text could be attributed to the fact that the house where the annals were incorporated into √E was outside the Scandinavianized areas, although this suggestion is quite problematic. On the one hand, Worcester also lies outside the original Scandinavianized areas (but see below). On the other hand, and more importantly, we simply do not know where

<sup>118</sup> ‘Who was the chief in respect of seat’, i.e. ‘who had the most important seat’, Bede; ‘said that he was the leader over the holy church’, *C.P.* The chapter, page, and line number references above are based on the following editions: *The Old English Version of Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by T. Miller, EETS, OS, 95, 96, 110, and 111 (London, 1890–98) and *King Alfred’s West-Saxon Version of Gregory’s Pastoral Care*, ed. by Henry Sweet, EETS, OS, 45 and 50 (London, 1871–72). On the use of the superlative in the above contexts, see *DOE*, s.v. *eald*, sense III.B.1.b.

<sup>119</sup> *Annales monastici*, ed. by Luard, p. 192.

<sup>120</sup> See above, note 116.

<sup>121</sup> Irvine, *MS E*, pp. cxi–cxlii.

the annals for this section were incorporated in  $\sqrt{E}$ ; Christ Church, Canterbury, is a likely possibility, but by no means the only one.<sup>122</sup> Furthermore, as exemplified by the presence of OE *utlaga* in 1071E, some of these annals underwent further revision in early twelfth-century Peterborough, which, as explained above, was in a Scandinavianized area. Peterborough could, however, be discarded as the place where OE *tacan* may have been replaced with OE *niman* due to lack of familiarity. Even though the Peterborough Interpolations do not record the Norse-derived verb, while OE *niman* is frequently attested (e.g. 1070E), the First Continuation does record one case of OE *tacan* (1127E), and it may be the case that both the First Continuation and the pre-1121E annals should be associated with the same person.<sup>123</sup>

At any rate, the mere presence of such uncommon terms in a text which should be associated with early Anglo-Norman Worcestershire has to be accounted for.<sup>124</sup> In that respect, these terms could be associated with the use of OE *feolaga* in 1016D because all the records of the term and the derivative OE *feolagscipe* ‘partnership, fellowship’ (cf. OIc. *félagskapar* ‘fellowship, companionship’) are likely to be associated with the Scandinavian newcomers and the areas where they settled. Other than in the D-text, OE *feolaga* is recorded in a late tenth- or early eleventh-century inscription from Winchester’s Old Minster which includes an undeniably Scandinavian personal name and which may be associated with the presence of Cnut’s court in Winchester;<sup>125</sup> and in S 1531, a mid-eleventh-century will recording

<sup>122</sup> See Dumville, ‘Some Aspects’, pp. 34–35; and Irvine, *MS E*, pp. lxxxii–lxxxiv.

<sup>123</sup> See Home, ‘Peterborough Chronicle’, pp. 155–60. See also Malasree Home, ‘Double-Edged Déjà Vu: The Complexity of the Peterborough Chronicle’, this volume.

<sup>124</sup> The suggested Norse-derived character of the OE *fere* (1066D) word-field has already been dealt with (see above, note 26). Other terms recorded in these annals have also been analysed as Norse-derived (see also above, note 105): OE *heafdesmann* ‘leader’ (1076D), *landesman* ‘inhabitant of a country, native’ (1068E), ‘ryðrenan’ (1065D), and the association of OE *unræd* ‘ill-advised course, folly, bad counsel’ with treachery (1075E = 1076D) (cf. OIc. *höfuðsmaðr* ‘head-man, chief’, *landsmaðr* ‘inhabitant, native of a country’, *rauða rán* ‘a kind of aggravated robbery’, and *úræð* ‘ill-advised step, bad counsel’). On the common Old English compound-type represented by the two compounds with *-es-*, see, however, Dieter Kastovsky, ‘Vocabulary’, in *A History of the English Language*, ed. by Richard Hogg and David Denison (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 199–270 (p. 232). On ‘ryðrenan’, see Swanton, *ASC*, p. 193, n. 9. Regarding OE *unræd*, we should bear in mind that the *OED*, s.v. *un-* prefix<sup>1</sup>, explains that the prefix *un-* can have a pejorative meaning, even implying evilness (cf. OE *uncōdu* ‘evil disease, plague’ and *uncræft* ‘evil practice, evil art’). Thus, OE *unræd* could have developed the meaning ‘evil resolution, plan’ by fully native means; cf. *MED*, s.v. *unrēd*, sense b.

<sup>125</sup> See Elisabeth Okasha, *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions*, (London, 1971), no. 138; and Townend, ‘Contextualizing the *Knútsdrápur*’, pp. 170–71.

bequests of lands in East Anglia and Essex to various beneficiaries, including Ely Abbey and St Edmunds Abbey. The latter is one of the two Old English documents recording OE *feolagscipe*, the other being S 1519, a somewhat later will with bequests of lands in Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk to various beneficiaries, including Bury St Edmunds Abbey.

The use of OE *feolaga* in 1016D may exemplify one way of explaining the presence of somewhat uncommon Norse-derived material. As suggested above, the term may appear in the D-text because it records the terms actually used in the Anglo-Scandinavian agreement. Similarly, the terms discussed above could be said to have been kept because those involved in giving the D-text its extant shape were closely following the available sources. A complete lack of familiarity with the terms seems, however, difficult to maintain. Thus, the following lines will suggest various ways in which these terms could be attributed at least to constrained usage if not to the active repertoire of those involved in creating the D-text.<sup>126</sup>

Some familiarity with the somewhat uncommon Norse-derived terms recorded in these annals may have arisen from direct contact with Old Norse speakers. Even though Worcestershire and its immediate surroundings were outside the initial area of Scandinavian settlement, Dance has recently shown that there was some Scandinavian presence in the eleventh century following Cnut's conquest and as a result of contact with powerful families from the Danelaw who expanded their holdings to non-Scandinavianized areas.<sup>127</sup> Furthermore, the religious houses in the area may have been particularly important places for the presence of Old Norse or, at least, Norse-derived terms. Not only were Worcester and York held in plurality at least five times during the tenth and eleventh centuries, but also the Benedictine house at Odense seems to have been founded by monks from Evesham.<sup>128</sup> To these factors we should add general interdialectal contact between speakers of Old English with varying levels of Norse influence. Indeed, it is interesting to see that early Middle English texts from the South-West Midlands record the Middle English reflexes of most of the previously unrecorded Norse-derived terms, including the

<sup>126</sup> I have borrowed the terms *constrained usage* and *active repertoire* from Michael Benskin and Margaret Laing, 'Translations and *Mischsprachen* in Middle English Manuscripts', in *So meny people longages and tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Medieval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*, ed. by Michael Benskin and M. L. Samuels (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 55–106. While Benskin and Laing use the terms to refer mainly to orthographic and phonological features, they apply here to lexical issues.

<sup>127</sup> Dance, *Words Derived from Old Norse*, pp. 27–33, with references.

<sup>128</sup> See Dance, *Words Derived from Old Norse*, pp. 33–35, with references.

two non-technical verbs.<sup>129</sup> As noted above, we cannot be certain about the role played by the D-text itself in the increasing use of those terms, but the aforementioned factors are also very likely to have contributed to the linguistic situation reflected by the Middle English texts.

### *Conclusion*

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a text with a very complex history reflecting in many cases (quasi-)contemporary events and concerns, offers a very rich corpus for the study of the integration of Norse-derived terms in Old English. The various sets of annals, the different layers of composition and reworking, and the dialectal areas where those processes took place are all factors which have to be taken into account when attempting such a study. This paper has touched on some of the difficulties facing scholars embarking on that project.

The annals allow us to follow the development of some terms from a specific association with the Scandinavian newcomers to a wider use, as well as their participation in word-formation processes. The integration of some of the terms may have been facilitated by 'official' usage originating from the court, and this is possibly hinted at by some of the annals. Furthermore, the Chronicle may also allow us to have (somewhat mediated) access to the lexical practices of some Scandinavianized areas which are not very well represented in the extant Old English texts. The ways in which the various versions cope with those lexical practices could be used as data for the study of the integration of Norse-derived terms in different Old English dialects; however, as shown in this paper, this approach is not unproblematic.

The Chronicle may be a conservative text as far as orthographic practices are concerned.<sup>130</sup> Yet, the annals surveyed here show that a similar conclusion cannot be reached with regard to lexical practices involving Norse-derived terms. This is due not only to the uncertainties surrounding the processes of composition and reworking of many annals, but also to the fact that the chroniclers seem to have been fairly familiar with the Norse-derived terms which had become or were becoming firmly established in various Old English technolects, to the extent that

<sup>129</sup> See Dance, *Words Derived from Old Norse*, pp. 190–92. On the possible presence of OE *tacan* in other text from the south-west, see above, note 110.

<sup>130</sup> See Jayne Carroll, 'Coins and the Chronicle: Mint-names, History, and Language', this volume.

the Chronicle records the first uses of some technical terms. The annals show, in fact, the same general trends as other Old English texts: the technical terms belonging to the legal, nautical, and martial semantic fields are the most numerous, whereas the use of everyday words is rather limited; the latter appear in late entries and probably (albeit not certainly) in association with the Scandinavianized areas. Most of the terms already show a tendency towards lack of specific association with the Scandinavian newcomers.

As explained in the introduction, due to spatial limitations, one fundamental issue in the study of the use of the Norse-derived terms has been left generally unexplored: the semantic, stylistic, and numerical relationship between the Norse-derived terms and their respective native synonyms as suggested by the various sets of annals. This aspect of the integration of the Norse-derived terms into Old English will have to be explored in a future work.<sup>131</sup>

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The following is a select guide to Chronicle scholarship constructed by the editor on the basis of a bibliography by Stephen Graham. It should be used in conjunction with the list of abbreviations; items listed there (including the ASCCE editions of MSS A–F) are not repeated here. For further detail on specific topics please consult the footnotes to the essays.

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